Phillip Burton

LATE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM
CALIFORNIA

◆

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
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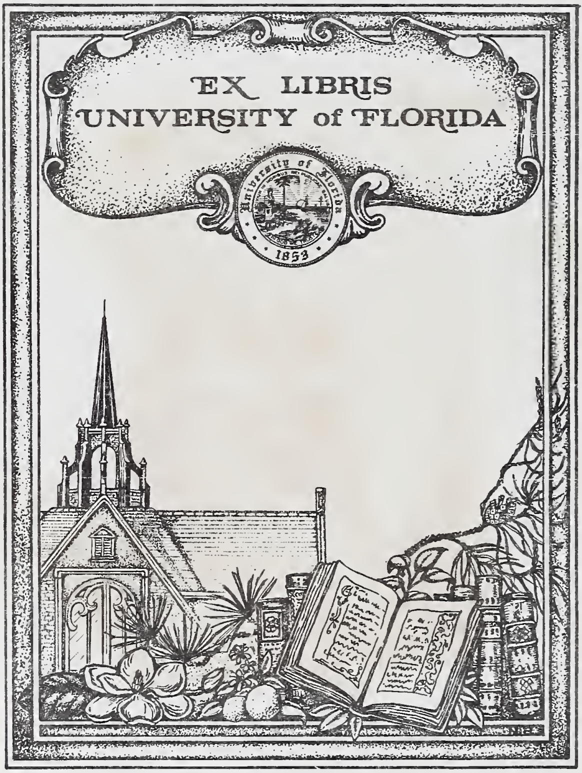

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Memorial Services

Held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States,
together with tributes presented in eulogy of

Phillip Burton

Late a Representative from California

Ninety-eighth Congress
First Session

❧

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Biography

PHILLIP BURTON, brother of John Lowell Burton, was born in Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio, June 1, 1926; moved to San Francisco with his parents in 1939; attended the public schools of Cincinnati and San Francisco; B.A., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1947; LL.B., Golden Gate Law School, San Francisco, 1952; admitted to the California bar, 1952; engaged as an attorney at law; admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court, 1956; veteran, World War II and the Korean conflict, serving in the Air Force, discharged as a first lieutenant; member, State assembly, 1956–1964; United States Representative, Atlantic Treaty Association Conference, France, 1959; delegate, California State Democratic Convention, 1968–1982; delegate, Democratic National Convention, 1968 and 1970; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-eighth Congress, by special election, February 18, 1964, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John F. Shelley; reelected to the 10 succeeding Congresses and served from February 18, 1964, until his death in San Francisco, Calif., April 10, 1983; cremated; ashes interred in the National Cemetery of the Presidio of San Francisco.

MEMORIAL SERVICES
FOR
PHILLIP BURTON

Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *April 11, 1983.*

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, our colleague and dear friend, PHILLIP BURTON, died yesterday morning in San Francisco.

We all will miss him very much. He was truly one of the great men of our time.

Through his inspired legislative skills, many millions of tomorrow's Americans will enjoy the outdoors, Americans living in Samoa, Guam, and the American Virgin Islands have representation in Congress. Coal miners suffering from black lung are entitled to compensation. Working men and women everywhere have laws protecting their rights. PHIL BURTON's list of accomplishments is almost endless.

The funeral services will be in San Francisco on Thursday, and transportation will be furnished to Members and their husbands and their wives. Members desiring to go to California should get in touch with the Sergeant at Arms.

I am going to reserve time tomorrow, Tuesday, after legislative business is over for all of us to speak to the House about what PHIL meant to us and to our country.

All of us send a message of deep sympathy to PHIL's widow, Sala, and to all the members of the bereaved family.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 157

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON, a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That a committee of such Members of the House as the Speaker may designate, together with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the House adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. AuCOIN. Mr. Speaker, it is so strange how things sometimes happen. Last night as I was flying back from Oregon to Washington, I was reading an article en route in the Wilderness Magazine written by PHIL BURTON, our departed colleague.

And that article vividly demonstrated his passion for the preservation of our parks and our wilderness and our public lands. And as I read the article, I reflected on my friend, who I fully expected to see this week as we returned to the vigorous schedule before us, reflected how this issue was only one of his many causes.

He had many causes. And he was one of those rare power brokers on Capitol Hill who had as beneficiaries of their use of power those who so very often are powerless, those who are not able to lobby for themselves, those who are poor, those who are dispossessed, those who need a better break.

Today, I was shocked when I woke up and learned on the radio that my friend had died overnight. This House has lost a great leader, a man who was tough, a fighter, a man who was not always loved, but a man who was respected and a man who was unwilling to compromise very much on those things that he held dear.

Those of us who pass this House hope, all of us, to make a mark on the people and events that surround us. Some of us succeed and others do not succeed. PHIL BURTON was not only a success, he was a giant. His work on the floor, in committee, within the Democratic Party, and perhaps more importantly in those places in his district where cameras and reporters seldom go, made him a compassionate and skillful leader who certainly has left a mark on the people and events that he has touched.

I am saddened by the loss of this friend and this colleague of ours. He wasted not a minute of his life in the pursuit of his goals. It was that courage, that heart of a lion that those of us who knew him respected so much.

Mr. Speaker, I will insert in the Record the article I read last night, written by our departed colleague.

The article follows:

[From the Wilderness Spring, 1983]

CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGERS—ASSAULTS FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT

(By Phillip Burton)

Horror story. The year is 2001. In the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, the National Park Service has borrowed an idea from the Japanese. Scattered along the trails and roads of the park, spaced no more than 2 miles apart, are narrow, glass-enclosed cubicles not unlike structures found on the streets of downtown Tokyo. They look like telephone booths. But the instruments inside are not telephones; they are oxygen units. They are there for the emergency use of those park visitors with cardiovascular and pulmonary problems aggravated by the ever-increasing presence of smog creeping up into the mountains from the Los Angeles Basin, a phenomenon so common that smog alerts have become a regular part of the park experience.

In Yosemite National Park, ground is broken for a shopping mall on a privately owned three-acre "inholders" plot in the shadow of Half Dome. The plot's owner justifies construction of the complex on the grounds that the National Park Service has removed so many commercial shops from the floor of the valley that park visitors are seriously inconvenienced.

At Page, Ariz., just below Glen Canyon National Recreation Area on the Colorado River, hydrologists test the water released into the river from behind Glen Canyon Dam and discover radiation levels high enough to pose a threat to human life; already, there have been major fish kills in Lake Powell. The likely source of the radiation is a high-level nuclear waste disposal site at the Gibson Salt Dome upriver near the edge of Canyonlands National Park. Apparently, the radiation has seeped into the groundwater table and from thence to streams feeding the river, the principal source of water for irrigation and municipal needs for most of the Southwest.

At Yovimpa Point in Bryce Canyon National Park, visitors pause to look out upon a once-spectacular landscape of up-and-down desert country. What they see—and hear—now, about 4 miles away, is a 7,000-ton, 200-foot-high mechanical brontosaurus strip mining the Earth for coal, throwing up a pall of black dust, growing like a beast in anger.

Visitation at Yellowstone National Park, the first such park in American history, has fallen off to a fraction of the numbers that once inundated it through much of the 20th century. This might be a salutary development, given the overcrowding in most parks, if it were not for the reason behind it: Expansive development of geothermal sites just west of the park for power generation has drained off the steam and hot springs which fed Yellowstone's geysers and bubbling hot pools and waterfalls, the park's main visitor attractions. Old Faithful, a postcard standard for generations, has not erupted for several years; Mammoth Hot Springs, only slightly less popular than Old Faithful, is now nothing but a collection of brittle geyser cones.

Two thousand miles to the southeast, at the very tip of Florida, Everglades National Park is deteriorating at an alarming rate. Subdivisions and industrial parks spreading southwest of Miami with the random inexorability of spilled milk have seriously depleted the natural flow of fresh water in the park. Periods of severely depleted water levels are interspersed with destructive flooding. Saltwater intrusion is at a crisis level. The natural cover of sawgrass has been replaced in most areas by the exotic Brazilian pepper. The Everglades kite, once a prime addition to any birder's life list, has not been seen in nearly a decade. The last alligator was spotted by a park ranger 5 years before * * *.

This dark fantasy, more nightmare than dream, is not yet a reality. Neither is it an impossibility. The National Park System, one of the major talismans of the United States as a civilized community, is in trouble. Desperate trouble. Trouble so desperate that if we do not take steps right now to make needed changes we will be standing on the edge of a situation that will make the idea of the national parks a grim and bitter jest.

It is not as if we hadn't been warned. In 1978, the National Parks and Conservation Association, a national environmental organization, did a survey of park superintendents to determine the environmental status of the parks. Sixty-six percent of the superintendents reported that their parks were suffering some sort of resource threat from within or without park boundaries, and 64 percent declared that some of these threats had the capability of permanently damaging the quality of their parks. This survey was augmented in 1979 by a more comprehensive study undertaken by the National Park Service's Office of Science and Technology in response to a bipartisan request by myself and former Congressman Keith Sebelius (R-Kansas). Its conclusions were published the following year as State of the Parks, 1980. While the report made clear the fact that threats of one kind or another affected all national park units—for an overall average of 23 threats per park—those units with 30,000 acres or more—including many of our oldest and best loved parks—were shown to have a startling twice as many threats as the average. Writing in the October 1982 issue of Environment magazine, Gundar Rudzitis and Jeffrey Schwartz glumly analyzed the NPS report's implications: "* * * the NPS concluded that no parks are immune to internal and external threats, and that these threats are causing significant damage. Furthermore, these threats would continue to degrade and destroy irreplaceable park resources until such time as mitigation measures are implemented. In many cases * * * such degradation or loss of resources is irreversible. The irreversibility represents a sacrifice by a public that is, for the most part, unaware that such a price is being paid."

The threats of which the report spoke are still with us and are, if anything, worse than they were in 1979. They are too numerous and complex to be dealt with in detail in the space allotted to me here—the NPS report cataloged no fewer than 73 individual types of threats—but they can be broken down into some general categories. These would include aesthetic degradation from resource extraction and commercial, residential, and road development near—and sometimes in—the parks; air pollution from sulfur dioxide and hydrocarbon emissions and water pollution from toxic waste disposal, oil spills, dredging materials, and sewage effluents; ecological damage through the loss of wildlife, the introduction of exotic species, overcrowding, and internal mismanagement; and the disruptive effect of private inholdings on the integrity of individual park units.

With those general categories, the following summary of specific problems, however partial, however brief, should give some idea of the dimensions of the clear and present dangers facing the National Park System:

Under provisions of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1977—renewed in 1982—most major national park units have been classified as mandatory Class I areas—areas in which any deterioration of air quality must be viewed as significant. Nevertheless, the air quality in many parks has degenerated badly in recent years. For example, in the so-called Golden Circle of the Southwest—a region encompassing such park units as Grand Canyon, Canyonlands, Bryce Canyon, Capitol Reef, and Arches national parks and Lake Mead and Glen Canyon national recreation areas—visibility has been reduced on an average from 60 miles to 40. At Grand Canyon, visibility is sometimes as little as 15 miles, the canyon's opposite rim lost in a sea of murk. Visibility at Glen Canyon has been whittled down by 25 to 50 percent in less than 10 years, and all park units have had obscurity inflicted on them to one degree or another. The great bulk of this pollution comes from the 20 operating powerplants in the Golden Circle, including the notorious Four Corners powerplant near Farmington, N. Mex., which alone spews 80,000 tons of sulfur dioxide into the region every year—it is an irony of history that in 1965 the only signs of human life the orbiting astronauts of Gemini III could detect were the westward-moving plumes of aerial garbage issuing from the Four Corners plant. As many as 10 additional powerplants have been proposed for this region in recent years.

The Department of Energy is investigating two sites near Canyonlands National Park in Utah as possible repositories of nuclear waste with high-level radiation. One site is Davis Canyon, less than a mile from the park; the other is Lavender Canyon, only a little more than 2 miles away. Even with the most sophisticated disposal technology, there is no absolute guarantee that radiation from such deposits would not leak into the local ground water system, with potential impact on the Colorado River. Aside from that, the site chosen would also include a coal-fired powerplant, a railroad line for the transport of both coal and nuclear wastes, transmission lines, and support facilities—all within minutes of the edge of one of the most beautifully primitive and undeveloped parks in the country.

During the Carter administration, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus ruled that strip mining 9,000 acres of the Alton Coal Field just 4 miles from Bryce Canyon National Park would be unsuitable because the resulting development would all but destroy the splendid view from the park's Yovimpa Point. In fact, the Clean Air Act requires the protection of what it calls "integral vistas," which are defined as "the perception from within the Federal Class I area of the specific historical, cultural, or scenic landmark panorama which is located outside the boundary of a park and which vista is important to the visitor experience of the park." Interior Secretary James Watt has refused even to list any integral vistas, and beyond that has sought—unsuccessfully, so far—to reverse the Andrus ruling in the courts, and has proposed changes in the law to allow such activities.

Perhaps the most overwhelmingly threatened national park in the entire system is Everglades. The increasing use of Florida's water resources by agriculture and urban and industrial growth in and around Dade County have seriously interfered with the region's natural seasonal flow of water, a cycle necessary for the maintenance of the park's ecological integrity. The impact on wildlife and its habitat already has been enormous—the population of some species of wading birds, for instance, has declined by 90 percent in the last 50 years, and salt water intrusion increases every year, changing the balance of the ecosystem. "The natural variation in the water tables," park superintendent Jack Moorhead has said—as quoted by Robert Cahn in the Christian Science Monitor for June 15, 1982, "is what made the Everglades so great. But if this keeps up, the people coming to Everglades in the year 2000 might see a cover of Brazilian pepper instead of sawgrass, and few birds and no gators or any of the 11 species that are endangered or threatened and need the park habitat."

In the 488,031 acres of Federal land comprising the Island Park Geothermal Area, some 13 miles west of the border of Yellowstone National Park, more than 70 industries and utility companies have filed 200 lease applications for the exploration and development of geothermal resources. No one knows how this might affect the hot water geysers and springs of the Yellowstone Geothermal Basin, phenomena of such extraordinary beauty and wonder that they inspired the creation of our first national park in 1872. Past experience around the world suggests the definite possibility that nothing but great harm could result from such development. Three of the world's top 10 natural geyser areas have been destroyed already, and 4 more significantly damaged. Yellowstone is the only remaining natural geyser system in North America that remains undisturbed. Are we willing to exchange Old Faithful forever for probably no more than 25 years of locally produced geothermal energy? There are those who would take the chance.

In the words of The Wilderness Society's executive director, William Turnage, the still unresolved question of privately held "inholdings" is "the gravest threat to the integrity of the National Park System in its entire history." The threat is both complex and insidious, and covers a broad spectrum of national parks. These pockets and parcels of land, left in private ownership when many parks were created, are a constant thorn in the side of the National Park Service, because until they can be incorporated into the individual parks as part of the system, they are a perpetual menace to both the meaning of the parks and the ecosystems they were designed to perpetuate. The danger is real, for in many instances the Park Service has been all but helpless to prevent damaging industrial and commercial development on such inholdings. Old-growth timber has been clearcut in parts of Glacier Bay and Yosemite national parks. Strip mining has occurred in Shenandoah National Park; a mine was begun in Capitol Reef National Park within a stone's throw of the park's visitor center; the rim of Grand Canyon National Park sports a uranium mine; part of Death Valley National Monument has been gouged out by a borax mine; residential developments have popped up within the boundaries of Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and roads for similar developments have been laid down in Olympic and Yosemite national parks.

It is a threat that has been with us for some time. In 1967, Park Service Director George Hartzog eloquently outlined the problem: "Inholdings are like the worm in the apple. They may not take up much of the total park area, but they tend to cluster around the prime scenic attractions. * * * On private lands within parks you will find lumberyards, pig farms, gravel pits, logging operations, and sheep and cattle ranches, plus powerplants and mine shafts, auto junkyards, garbage dumps, private plane landing strips, and proliferating residential subdivisions."

The Park Service has the legal means to put an end to such inappropriate uses within the parks, by outright purchase of the inholdings, by condemnation proceedings, by issuing "scenic easements" to minimize impact, or by a simple declaration of taking. The money for all this—for inholders must by law be compensated—is provided by the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Unfortunately, first by declaring a "moratorium" on parkland purchases in 1981, then by simply evading his responsibility to spend the IWCF money that Congress has allocated his department, Interior Secretary James Watt has severely crippled the ability of the Park Service to resolve the situation—which is not simple in the first place: There are 34,000 private owners of national park holdings.

Strip mining in Capitol Reef National Park * * * a new powerplant near Zion National Park * * * tar sand development in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area * * * feral hog damage in Great Smokies National Park * * * wholesale cactus poaching in Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument * * * vandalism and petroglyph desecration in Chaco Canyon National Monument * * * offroad vehicle damage at Cape Lookout National Seashore * * * dredging in Gulf Islands National Seashore * * * possible land sales in Apostle Islands National Lakeshore * * *.

All of these and many, many more are either chipping away right now at the security of the National Park System or may soon be doing so. And they are not long-term threats awaiting us some distance down the road to the 21st century; they face us now—today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow. Our response must be geared to that imminence. We must swiftly pass, in this session of Congress, a parks protection bill that challenges the inexorability of park degradation, that recognizes our responsibility to the future, that reaffirms our commitment to—and indeed our love for—these precious enclaves whose preservation goes a long way toward illuminating what the great experiment of America was all about.

(Congressman PHILLIP BURTON is ranking member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. As Chair of this committee's National Parks and Insular Affairs Subcommittee from 1977 to 1980, he set an unprecedented record for establishing and protecting parks, wilderness areas, trails and wild and scenic rivers, including the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978—one of the most sweeping pieces of environmental legislation ever to pass the Congress.)

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I am sure you are all as shocked as I am at the news of our brother PHILLIP BURTON's departure from this world. His dedication to people, especially to working people, the poor, the underprivileged, and minorities, was not surpassed by anyone in the House of Representatives. His dedication to the protection of our environment, particularly our wilderness areas and our national parks, is well known to all the world.

But many people do not know the quiet, unpublicized things that PHIL BURTON constantly did to help his colleagues and to help his fellow human beings. He was truly a magnificent human being.

Not only was he dedicated to these things, but he was a master of the art of how to achieve them legislatively. I do not think there is a person in this House who knew better how to make this system work, and who had the values and priorities to see that it worked in the right direction more than PHILLIP BURTON.

It will be a long, long time before we have filled the gap caused by his passing. But each of us will cherish memories of our association with him over the years. May they inspire us to carry on in his spirit and deepen our own commitment to the cause of humanity.

Mr. HEFTEL of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, the passing of PHIL BURTON is the passing of a very special Member of this body, the passing of a man who cared very deeply about people. His image was one of a hard driving, aggressive, pursuing, knowledgeable Member of this body who knew better than most how to make it work. But if it was in his capacity to make it work better than most, it was only so that he could make it work better for people—the people who primarily need help and are not thought of very much in the process that we go through. He thought of them. He cared about them. He gave every ounce of his energy and, ultimately, of his life, to those people he cared about in America.

For Hawaii, for the Nation, his passing will be a great loss, a loss that will not easily be replaced, if ever to be replaced, in one human being.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly, at 12 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m., pursuant to House Resolution 157, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 12, 1983, at 12 o'clock noon in memory of the late Honorable PHILLIP BURTON of California.

TUESDAY, *April 12, 1983.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

We thank You, O God, for people who accept responsibility for their lives and use their talents and abilities by being of service to others. We are conscious of the death of PHILLIP BURTON and we mourn his passing from this place that he loved and in which he served. Bless, O God, the efforts he made to faithfully serve his people and his desires to bring justice to those in need. May Your spirit of love and understanding be with his family and may Your benediction of grace and peace be with us all. Amen.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to House Resolution 157, the Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee of the late PHILLIP BURTON, the following Members on the part of the House:

Mr. Edwards of California; Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts; Mr. Wright of Texas; Mr. Foley of Washington; Mr. Hawkins of California; Mr. Roybal of California; Mr. Anderson of California; Mr. Dellums of California; Mr. Brown of California; Mr. Moorhead of California; Mr. Stark of California; Mr. Lagomarsino of California; Mr. Miller of California; Mr. Mineta of California; Mr. Patterson of California; Mr. Waxman of California; Mr. Badham of California; Mr. Beilenson of California; Mr. Panetta of California; Mr. Coelho of California; Mr. Dannemeyer of California; Mr. Dixon of California; Mr. Fazio of California; Mr. Lewis of California; Mr. Lungren of California; Mr. Matsui of California; Mr. Pashayan of California; Mr. Shumway of California; Mr. Thomas of California; Mr. Chappie of California; Mr. Dreier of California; Mr. Dymally of California; Ms. Fiedler of California; Mr. Hunter of California; Mr. Lantos of California; Mr. Lowery of California; Mr. Martinez of California; Mr. Bates of California; Mr. Berman of California; Mr. Bosco of California; Mrs. Boxer of California; Mr. Lehman of California; Mr. Levine of California; Mr. McCandless of California.

Mr. Packard of California; Mr. Torres of California; Mr. Zschau of California; Mr. Brooks of Texas; Mr. Rostenkowski of Illinois; Mr. Udall of Arizona; Mr. Pickle of Texas; Mr. Erlenborn of Illinois; Mr. Ford of Michigan; Mr. Alexander of Arkansas; Mr. Clay of Missouri; Mr. Obey of Wisconsin; Mr. Seiberling of Ohio; Mr. Jones of Oklahoma; Mr. Rose of North Carolina; Mrs. Collins of

Illinois; Mr. Ottinger of New York; Mr. Downey of New York; Mr. Ford of Tennessee; Mr. Harkin of Iowa; Mr. McHugh of New York; Mr. Solarz of New York; Mr. Weaver of Oregon; Mr. Akaka of Hawaii; Mr. Bonior of Michigan; Mr. Dicks of Washington; Mr. Murphy of Pennsylvania; Mr. Vento of Minnesota; Mr. Walgren of Pennsylvania; Mr. Weiss of New York; Mr. Garcia of New York; Mr. Cheney of Wyoming; Mr. Gray of Pennsylvania; Mr. Hance of Texas; Mr. Lowry of Washington; Mr. Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin; Mr. Shannon of Massachusetts; Mr. Dyson of Maryland; Mr. Foglietta of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Kennelly of Connecticut; Mr. Carr of Michigan; Mr. Kostmayer of Pennsylvania; Mr. McCloskey of Indiana; Mr. McNulty of Arizona; Mr. Moody of Wisconsin; Mr. Mrazek of New York; Mr. Reid of Nevada; Mr. Won Pat of Guam; Mr. Corrada of Puerto Rico; and Mr. de Lugo of the Virgin Islands.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post this morning which briefly chronicles the vision and gusto that PHIL BURTON brought to this House.

In writing of PHIL's accomplishments and as a good friend, Michael Barone captures the essence of PHIL BURTON and what many of us strive to achieve in public service.

I would like to stress the last sentence of that editorial which, more than any other, is testament to the credit PHIL BURTON brought to his family, friends, constituents, State, and Nation—and I quote—"You may or may not agree with what he did, but you have to agree he made a difference."

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Madam Speaker, with the death of our dear friend and colleague, PHILLIP BURTON, an historical era has ended. In the words of a member of his staff:

> The BURTON legacy in national legislation will be remembered as long as the Redwoods stand, and as long as free men and women unite in solidarity against the darker forces that threaten their peace and freedom.

Those of us in the California Democratic delegation, who depended on PHIL for so much, have lost a man who is simply irreplaceable to us. He was our hero and our champion.

Those of us in this Chamber are by no means alone in our loss. The poor and the elderly mourn the death of one of their most effective advocates in the Congress. Working men and women have lost their best friend. Countless measures to enhance the social welfare bear Phil's imprint.

Those who love our environment mourn the passing of a dedicated protector of our wilderness areas. Passage earlier today of the California Wilderness Act bears witness both to Phil's commitment to preservation of the environment and to his legislative talents.

Many qualities have been ascribed to Phil over the years, not all of them favorable. He has been called gruff and irreverent, sentimental and idealistic, cunning, brilliant, abrasive, charming. In fact, he was all of these. He was a man of deep emotion and drive, and he aroused deep emotions in those with whom he came in contact.

Phil had his fans and his detractors. But even those who disagreed with his positions or his actions, respected Phil for his unstinting dedication to the principles of social justice in which he believed. The power that Phil sought was never power for himself, but rather power for those who have no voice—the impoverished, the ill, senior citizens.

Only a partial list of the political and legislative legacy Phil leaves behind leaves one in awe:

Passage of legislation to expand black lung benefits for coal miners.

Legislation to improve the minimum wage.

Legislation to enhance welfare benefits for the aged and the disabled.

The measure which established a cost-of-living escalator for social security recipients.

The abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Representation in Congress for the American territories—Guam, American Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

Legislation to double in size the Redwoods National Park.

Passage of measures to protect our wilderness from the Point Reyes National Seashore in California to urban parks in New York.

The list goes on and on and on.

Phil's death leaves a great void in the House and for our Nation.

It is a void not easily filled, perhaps impossible to fill.

I, personally, will miss his friendship, his clear insight, and wise counsel, his gruff exterior that masked the proverbial heart of gold. My condolences go to his beloved wife, Sala, daughter, Joy, his brothers, John and Robert, and to his many friends and relatives who loved him.

Mr. BROWN of California. Madam Speaker, I take this time to say a few words about by own personal relationship with PHIL BURTON and my high regard for him.

One is moved to think deeply about what binds people together at a time like this. I have known and worked closely with PHIL for more than 25 years. We are not particularly similar in personality. I sometimes found it difficult to get along with him. But I respected those qualities which have just been so eloquently described by our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. Edwards.

One thing that always impressed me about PHIL was his capacity to carry friendship. He valued his friends and he cared for his friends, and he made that clear in many different ways. I think one of the reasons for his admitted political power and acumen was the fact that he actually cared about people as individuals, and in caring about them, he took the trouble to understand them, to get to know them, and to know their problems, and to do everything he could to help them, sometimes whether they asked him or not.

I can recall, for example, that, while I was in a particularly tough election one time, when it was not clear that I was going to be elected—it was a time when I was out of the Congress and seeking to return—PHIL BURTON must have called me three or four times on election eve to make sure I was doing satisfactorily. I was behind all that time, but he said:

> Don't worry. I know where the votes are coming from, and you will come out all right in the end.

He called me last at 2 o'clock in the morning. My wife had already gone home. She could not stand listening to the late returns. But PHIL was listening, and he was making sure that I knew that he cared about the outcome of that election.

I suspect that I was not the only one. I suspect that there were people all over the United States who PHIL knew about, thought that their election was significant, maybe had done something to help them and wanted to make sure that they knew that he was thinking about them.

That is the sort of thing that binds people to another person in friendship, even though you may find times when you have difficulty tolerating them otherwise. You can forgive a lot under those circumstances. And I doubt very seriously if I will ever encounter another politician, maybe another human being, who so sincerely cared about other individuals as individuals. And I want to acknowledge that about PHIL and to express my very deep regret that he is no longer with us, and express my deep sorrow and sympathy to his wife and family. I do not know what more to say. He was an irreplaceable person.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Madam Speaker, I want to say that my wife and I were both saddened and shocked, really, to hear the news about PHIL BURTON. I had known him for over 30 years. We had been active in the Young Democratic Clubs of America together, where he was an organizer and a power, and it was no surprise to me, when he came to the Congress of the United States, to find out that he began organizing here just as he had done there. He was a person who was an organizer and loved organization for the power that it could bring to do other things that he wanted to do, not just for the sake of organization. He loved politics as an art of government, and he was one of those who served on the committee that brought about almost all of the congressional reforms that we have had in the 25 years that I have been here. He was one of the leaders in that movement. He was one who tried very hard during those days to understand the problems of others. And while we were trying to accomplish some objective, he would look for a way to accommodate temporarily others with their problems so that they could adjust to the new circumstances brought about by the reorganization or the reform rules that were being adopted.

And I want to say one other thing: He was one of those—and there are too many who are not this way—who had the guts to vote the way he believed, even if he thought his constituents would not understand. I have seen him do it. He was willing to vote that way and then to go and explain to his constituents, if he needed to, why that was the way that he should vote. His word was good. If he gave you his word, that was the end of it, and that was the way it was back when we were active in the Young Democrats together, and that is the way it was here in the Congress. However he said he would go, that is the way he went, and you could rely on it. Everybody knew that.

So Bea and I extend our greatest sympathy to his wife, Sala, and to his family, and I regret that we are here today to commemorate his service.

Mr. DELLUMS. Madam Speaker, PHIL BURTON, my dear friend and trusted colleague on so many matters, is now dead. Tragically, only with his passing will people in the media and across the country come to realize what a truly colossus he was on the legislative landscape of this Congress.

From the moment he was first elected to Congress from San Francisco in 1964, PHIL was an outspoken, unyielding opponent of our Government's criminal involvement in Indochina. In the years since, he was unstinting in his opposition to the nuclear arms race and U.S. covert operations around the world, from Angola to El Salvador.

In the realm of domestic legislation, he was one of the most effective champions in enhancing the environment and preserving the natural wonders of this country he so loved on the land, sea, and in the air.

He was in the forefront of every major struggle for the expansion of human dignity and equal opportunity in this society for the past two decades in and out of the Congress.

PHIL BURTON was truly a political leader in the best and most constructive sense of that term. My deepest political regret is that PHIL did not live long enough to achieve the position for which he was so eminently qualified, the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

My most profound personal regret is that PHIL's wife, Sala, his family and his friends who loved and admired him will no longer be able to share in his ready wit, his unique intelligence, his real compassion for and deep dedication to the cause of the poor and the powerless in our society and around the world.

I would further say to my colleague in the well and Members of the House that Washington, D.C., is a place where we have many colleagues and acquaintances but very few friends. PHIL BURTON was my friend. I respected PHIL BURTON, admired PHIL BURTON, and I came to love PHIL BURTON.

He was a decent and powerful human being. He will be missed by this gentleman, by my wife, and by my family. He took a stand in relationship to my career that was very difficult to take, but he did it because we both shared a vision of this Nation.

It is very difficult to articulately describe one's feelings. Death is a very powerful and potent thing.

I thank my colleague for yielding. As long as this gentleman is alive, PHIL BURTON's hopes and dreams and aspirations will live.

Mr. MILLER of California. Madam Speaker, I rise for the purpose of honoring the memory of an extraordinary man, an exemplary public servant, and a tenacious man of courage and commitment—our late colleague, and my dear friend, Phillip Burton of San Francisco.

Phil's favorite expression, as we all will recall, was "Be happy in your work." Phil was not just happy in his work—he reveled in it. Phil brought to this House, to the Congress, and to the entire notion of public service an unsurpassed devotion to the people of San Francisco, and the people of this Nation.

It is altogether fitting that we honor Phil Burton today, on the anniversary of the passing of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Not since F.D.R., I believe it is accurate and appropriate to say, has one man achieved more on behalf of the poor, minorities, the elderly, working people or the preservation of our environment than Phillip Burton.

No wonder Phil was "happy in his work."

Phil saw the anguish and pain of tens of thousands of disabled miners and their survivors, and he wrote the landmark black lung compensation law which has provided income support and medical benefits to a half million people, and he wrote the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act to prevent new generations of coal miners from suffering disability and death.

And Phil recognized the hazards to millions of American working men and women, and wrote the Occupational Safety and Health Act to protect them from injuries and diseases on the job.

Phil saw the plight of millions of elderly, blind, and disabled citizens, and he wrote the supplementary security income law which guarantees decent incomes to over 4 million of our citizens.

Millions of service employees, blue collar Federal employees, and agricultural workers who were without protections were brought under the Federal minimum wage law because of Phil's legislation.

The incomes of millions of low-paid workers have been increased because of his efforts to raise the minimum wage and assure those Americans, and their families, a secure standard of living.

Phil recognized the need to preserve our environment for future generations of Americans. As the chairman of the National Parks Subcommittee, Phil worked his unique legislative magic in winning enactment of the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978, which tripled the size of the National Trails System, nearly doubled the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and more than doubled the wilderness acreage in the national park system.

Other key environmental legislation like the Alaska lands bill and the boundary waters canoe area was enacted in large part because of PHIL's legislative skills.

PHIL had served in the House for a decade when I arrived with the freshman class of 1974. Yet PHIL was a leader in the key issues which inspired most of us in that new class of House Members: Opposition to the continuation of the war in Vietnam, and a desire for fundamental procedural reforms in the operations of the House to allow a more democratic system in which all Members—newly elected and veteran—could fully participate. Because of the leadership of PHIL BURTON against prevailing public opinion and against the traditions of the Congress, an unknown number of lives were saved in Southeast Asia, and every new Member of this body will enjoy the right to full participation in the making of public policy.

Throughout this Congress and the Nation, there are many thousands of people who know what PHIL did for them, and they will never forget him. But the true measure of his greatness is how many millions of people his life's work benefited who never knew it, and perhaps who never even heard of him.

The many products of his legislative career will stand forever as permanent monuments to his life's work: Creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area; expansion of the Redwood National Park and protection of Lake Tahoe; establishment of the Channel Islands National Park, the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, and the Mineral King Area; and extension of the Point Reyes National Seashore and the granting of wilderness protection to the Farallon Islands.

And let us not forget that PHIL BURTON's efforts were responsible for granting the fundamental constitutional protection of representation in this House to residents of Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa.

But for me, the deepest memories of PHILLIP BURTON are not laws, or parks, or national monuments. They are memories of his consummate skills as a negotiator, a conciliator, an organizer. PHIL worked with every person and with every ideological point of view to make the legislative process work for the people and the country he cared so deeply about.

He never stepped back. He never accepted defeat. He never gave up, and he never abandoned his principles or his commitment. He was blunt, yes, even overbearing. But he was honest and straightforward to friends and adversaries alike.

And when each of us looks back at the years we have spent in this body and in public life, if we can claim half the accomplishments, benefited a quarter of the people, and improved the quality of life in this Nation a tenth as much as PHIL BURTON did, then we will all have reason to be very proud of our achievements, and to be "happy in our work."

I will never be as happy in my work again as I have been during the 8 years that I have shared a seat in the Congress with PHIL BURTON.

He was a colleague of mine for just 8 years. But our friendship has lasted my entire lifetime. And the excitement and the pleasure of those two relationships will remain with me, and inspire me, throughout the rest of my service in this House, and throughout my life.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Speaker, I appreciate having this opportunity to pay tribute to our departed friend and colleague, PHIL BURTON, and to extend my most sincere condolences to his family.

As no one needs to be told, PHIL and I were virtually diametrically opposed in outlook, from our political philosophy to our respective lifestyles. Nonetheless, I considered him to be a friend, I admired him as a man, and I respected him as a legislator. I sincerely believe that those sentiments were reciprocated.

PHIL BURTON was an extremely intellectual man, as well as an effective and clever lawmaker. In those capacities, he was very much a teacher to me, and the lessons he had to offer were well worth learning. His imposing appearance may have intimidated some, until they realized that underneath was a man who craved, earned, and deserved a reputation for being true to his word. He had the memory of an elephant, and he would never forget a bargain struck or a promise given, no matter how long a period of time or what circumstances intervened. He proved the soundness of his word to me in previous RARE II discussions, and even in the reapportionment plan drawn for California 2 years ago.

PHIL's ability to negotiate never faltered, no matter what the situation. He utilized his many skills and abilities judiciously and effectively, and he was an individual of incredible resilience.

Finally, I have always appreciated PHIL's devotion to his wife, and the high regard in which he held her.

Those of us who have been privileged to know and work with PHIL here in the House can truly appreciate how legislators such as he make the system work. He believed very strongly in every action he took and he insured that his position was always clearly known. I am confident that he provided sound and accurate representation to his district, and that he has left a mark upon this House that will not be forgotten. It was with sincere regret that I learned of his passing away.

Mr. WRIGHT. Madam Speaker, one of the great giants of our time has passed from among us. PHIL BURTON was a giant of a man who tended to dominate whatever stage he strode across. Everything he did was bigger than life size. He lived and worked and fought and played with an intensity at which others could but marvel.

PHIL BURTON did nothing halfway. He felt deeply, believed passionately, argued heatedly, and worked persistently for justice as he perceived it.

In the end, he simply worked himself out before his time; but many are the beneficiaries of his life and deeds. Generations from now Americans will enjoy public parks and beaches and unspoiled forests and open spaces because PHIL BURTON saw to it that they should.

He leaves a void in his passing. All of us who knew him mourn his loss and extend to his loved ones our most heartfelt condolences.

Mr. MINETA. Madam Speaker, times change and people come and go. Some are deeply remembered, while others pass quietly. No one will ever say PHIL BURTON passed through these Halls quietly.

Those of us who knew PHIL personally will long remember his intensity, his passion, and his energy. Those who in later years will only know of him from books will see most clearly his long record of legislative accomplishment. And then there will be those who have never heard of our friend, but whose lives are richer because of his efforts. PHIL was a man of two neighborhoods: The streets of San Francisco that he knew so well, and the Halls of this building. In each place he was a giant. I am not sure which is harder to imagine—San Francisco without PHIL BURTON, or this House without PHIL BURTON.

For those of us who love this House, PHIL's loss leaves a vacancy of enormous proportions. PHIL understood the legislative process as few people ever will. PHIL made things happen. PHIL led the way. The House of Representatives will be different without PHIL.

In the sometimes rough and tumble world we inhabit here, PHIL was an artist, a master craftsman. He was never predictable, never at ease if he was not making things happen.

We must not lose sight of the fact that PHIL used these tools, used his gifts and his energy and his passion for the right causes. PHIL was a classic liberal. He cared for the poor, the old, the minorities. He believed that this Government exists not to build "Star Wars"-style weapons, not to increase the privileges of the rich, nor to sell off our public lands. For PHIL, we are here to care for the sick, to protect the dignity of seniors, to serve as stewards of our land and water, to fight for justice with compassion and dedication and ceaseless energy.

With PHIL gone, the people of this Nation have lost not only a friend, but they have lost a protector and a crusader. That this loss has come many, many years too soon makes it all the more tragic.

There will be many monuments to PHIL BURTON: The parks he created, the laws protecting working people, the programs he defended. But let his most important and enduring monument be our commitment to the principles he embodied. Let us rededicate ourselves to these goals, let us never waver in our determination to carry on with his work.

And as PHIL would say, "You can bet your sweet bippy"; that PHIL's most lasting monument will be the health and well-being of the people of this Nation, and our continuing efforts to maintain, protect, and enhance their lives and their welfare.

So May and I wish to express our deepest sympathies and condolences to Sala; daughter, Joy; brothers, John and Robert Burton and thank them for having shared PHIL and his talents with all of us.

Mr. FOLEY. Madam Speaker, I, like so many of us, was saddened beyond expression by the events of recent days in which we all stand shocked by the sudden and tragic death of PHIL BURTON. Those of us who have been his close friends in the House over the years, those of us who have been colleagues who knew him only by his enormous achievements and his energy, so marvelously set out by all the speakers who have preceded me, cannot yet quite believe that he will not be among us, that he will not be in the cloakroom, that he will not be in the Halls, that he will not be grabbing Members to talk to them about the latest and most serious concerns that he always devoted himself to with such intensity and effectiveness.

It has been said many times that PHIL was a master of the legislative process. Those words are easy to say, but truthfully, I think those of us who have known him have seldon known anyone in any legislative body who had the capacity to bring together the intensity of commitment, the knowledge of the subject matter, the burning desire to achieve results and a capacity to work with Members of his own belief and philosophy and party and to work with others of a totally different background of feeling and appreciation, when he was convinced that together a real record of achievement and success might be attained.

Phil devoted himself to the reform of this House, to the protection of those who needed it most in our country, to the preservation of our natural resources, to the dignity of senior citizens and the working men and women of this Nation and many other causes; but he devoted himself with such a clear focus and with such intensity that he has, as few Members could possibly have, a record of specific achievements.

I might say that there are Members of the House who give enormous service over the years by making judgments, by working painstakingly on the efforts of others to give their vote and their commitment; but in a particular way, if one sat down and said what did Phil Burton achieve, it would not be difficult for anyone who has served with him to name issue after issue, victory after victory in behalf of protecting the natural environment, protecting the interests of people, protecting the rights of the individual, everyone within the United States and those in areas off seas, who have reason to be grateful to Phil.

Many, as has been said, will forget his name. This is a place of transient fame and recognition; but there will be monuments to Phil, as has been said before, not so much physical monuments of granite and stone, but monuments of achievement for the benefit of all of the people of this Nation that will be truly enduring.

This is a better Congress and this is a better country because of Phil Burton's service, and that is a monument and a memorial and an epitaph that any of us could be proud to have.

Mr. STARK. Madam Speaker, we stand here today in the shadow of a man who dedicated 20 years to Congress and a lifetime to humankind.

Yes, Phil Burton was the consummate political pro, a rough-hewn bear of a man with an instinct for being on the right side of a horse swap. His remarkable ability to knit together a patchwork of legislative commitments was legendary, and it won him accolades from some and criticism from others.

But, most importantly, Phil Burton's dogged determination and sometimes complicated political stratagems gave a "voice" to a constituency that too often is merely a whisper in these legislative Halls. When that abrasive and loud voice of Phil's boomed, it spoke for the poor, it spoke for the aged, it spoke for the disabled, it spoke for labor, and it spoke for a land unperverted by the ravages of greed.

During his 20 years in Congress, the whisper that grew to a crescendo through PHIL BURTON was heard in the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act that PHIL helped enact; it was heard in the 1978 legislation that extended and increased the minimum wage; it was heard in the Supplemental Security Act that PHIL authored; it was heard through PHIL's legislation establishing black lung compensation provisions for coal miners; it was heard throughout this Nation in legislation tripling the size of national park trails, protecting wild and scenic rivers and guaranteeing that this and future generations can take pride in an unspoiled wilderness.

I want to add my condolences and sympathy to PHIL's wife, Sala, and his brothers, Bob and John, his mother and his many, many friends.

It is true that PHIL was my friend and my colleague and he was, indeed, consumed by the political process, literally and figuratively, but not out of greed, not out of selfishness. He did not die a wealthy man and it was not his lot to devote time outside of Congress to ingratiate himself either financially or in a broader community than those who are gathered here today.

Despite a coarse exterior and a rather intimidating presence, he did not take on tireless and often tedious tasks, punctuated by late night hours and tireless sessions, just to gratify his own ego or build his self-worth. He was a man who task by task and bill by bill selflessly added to the sum of the overall good.

I remember a conversation I once had with PHIL during his campaign or previous to his campaign when he ran for majority leader. It was heated and spirited. Those of you who have been in those types of arguments with PHIL BURTON know that I am perhaps gilding the lily on that conversation. But it ended up, I suppose, by my screaming at PHIL that his only problem was that he did not know how to tell people he loved them.

From then on, and I think Sala agreed with me, but PHIL did not quite understand at that late hour, but from then on whenever I would see PHIL, and the more crowded the room and the more crowded the street he was shouting across, he would scream across the room and he would say, "Fortney, I love you."

I used to think that was sort of out of character for this kind of a hardboiled tough guy to yell that he loved me, but in retrospect it was not really odd for him to say he loved someone, because in his own way he shouted that love every day to the poor and the aged and the workers, all of those whispers that he said I love you to through really a legislative voice that will ring in these Halls for a long, long time.

We will miss Phil. We will miss his style. I hope that that commanding voice for those interests never does shrink to a whisper.

Phil, I am a little peeved. Phil owed me a phone call. He was to explain some things that I was to get done in SSI, particularly as it dealt with California but as it would have dealt with all of the people receiving supplemental security income. I am peeved because I was not told what to do next.

Now I am happy in my work, Phil, and I know I am in my mother's arms. I hope that it is the memory of you that will tell me, and I am sure it is, what to do next.

Mr. O'NEILL. Madam Speaker, it is impossible for me to express my sense of loss upon the death of Phil Burton; Phil, whom we all knew so well; rough, tough, gruff, articulate. You knew where he stood on all issues. You knew when he was in your company that there was a fighter for the rights of people and a leader at the same time.

The void left by this giant of a legislator affects not only his party and the House as an institution but the most dramatic loss will be realized by those for whom he fought every day of his life, the poor and the unfortunate, the unemployed, the aged, the sick and the disabled.

Phil and I agreed so much in philosophy. It would be untrue to say that Phil and I were the closest of friends until after a strange thing in his life had happened. After he had been defeated for the majority leader, Phil and I became extremely close.

What a man's man he was, losing a fight which meant everything in the world to him by one vote. I never saw a person take a defeat so gracefully.

I think after that he was even a better man, if it was humanly possible. He came to me in the quiet of the office from being an adviser to being a friend. After that defeat I would say that there was no closer individual in the House to me than Phil.

I will miss his guidance and I will miss his friendship.

Phil Burton, as we all know, was a brilliant tactician. This quality, coupled with his absolute dedication to the programs and policies on behalf of labor and on behalf of the environment, to name but two, made for extraordinary legislative achievements.

Phil had a heart of gold. His capacity for caring and compassion were unequaled.

He was a strange man. As compassionate as he was, he hated to let anybody know how soft his feelings really were.

Milly and I, since my wife has moved to Washington, became closer to the Burtons, particularly through a friendship that Milly and Sala made along the line. I think perhaps that drew Phil and I closer together.

He was talented, able, and it will be hard to fill his shoes.

So my wife Milly joins me and we extend to his beloved wife and partner, Sala, our deepest respect and love at this time of her sorrow.

Mrs. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, when you speak of love and speak of Phil Burton, I found him a very lovable person and certainly he never had any trouble telling me that he loved me. He showed his affection and his devotion to me in so many ways, and we had a very lovely relationship through many years when he and Hale, my husband, had a grudgingly affectionate relationship. Though they could yell at each other, they really indeed respected and enjoyed each other and were able to accomplish many things together.

I think particularly of the time when they had the delicate negotiations in the platform committee of the 1963 convention. I think a bond of friendship and of respect was so welded together then that it never really was torn apart again, even though at times they may have pretended it was.

I am going to miss Phil Burton and his leadership, his interests, his enormous energy that could activate this House into actions that perhaps nobody else was able to put together and to energize.

I cannot mention Phil and his work without mentioning in the same breath his partner, Sala, because she made it possible for him to give all of his attention and his enormous energy to the tasks that he loved so well, the reform of this House and all of the great legislative achievements and goals that he indeed did attain and that have been enumerated here.

The people of this Nation are so much more able to enjoy the benefits of our Government and the benefits of the beauty of our natural resources because Sala gave Phil to us so completely.

So I extend my feelings of sorrow and of condolence to Sala and to Joy and especially to John whom all of us are feeling a very close relationship with today. I would like to say as a grandmother that my heart goes out to his grandchildren whom he loved so dearly.

Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Speaker, I also share in the grief that a really living legacy has passed on. Now it is up to us to continue what his legacy was all about.

I do not think there are very many people in history who have directly and intimately affected so many millions of others as PHILLIP BURTON has and will since his legacy is still alive.

Many of us have already mentioned his contributions to our wonderful country and its people.

I would like to talk about him just briefly with respect to his love not only for his own State—although he was a native Ohioan and born in Cincinnati—and his country, but indeed, the global community.

PHIL BURTON was the leader of our country's delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly. And as one of the delegates that PHIL had asked to join him along with others. I was always amazed at his absolute scholarship about not only Western Europe but indeed the entire world. I think most of us tended to think of him as domestically oriented in his vision. But he was so well respected by so many leaders throughout the world that I was so proud of him as the leader of our delegation. And I valued the fact that he felt that it was very important to put America's best foot forward. He wanted a cross section of delegates. He wanted to show that indeed minorities and women participated in the legislative processes and that is why he asked some of us to join him.

I also wanted to briefly say that I not only had great love for PHIL, but I have great love for Sala. I know that she, next to PHIL, perhaps, was one of the most knowledgeable people on various issues that I have ever known. It may be inappropriate but I am going to say it anyway; I hope Sala runs for his seat. She would make an excellent Representative and no one, certainly, shared PHIL's vision as well and as beautifully as Sala did.

I want to extend to her also my deepest sympathy. They were indeed loving partners and they spoke so often of their daughter Joy and their grandchildren that I feel as if I know them also. And a special place in my heart tonight goes out to his very, very fine brother John, whom we miss also as a Member of Congress.

So, I just hope that all of us understand the responsibility we have now that PHIL is not here any longer; we have the responsibility to continue the magnificent legacy that he had for us. We still have some work to do in terms of progress on so many issues that were close to him.

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago I had the personal tragedy of losing my father. And at the time when you lose someone close it makes you realize your own mortality even more.

A few days ago we all lost a friend and virtually a father to the California delegation. Again I was struck by how mortal we are and how short the timeframe is that we live on this Earth, the time to make a contribution to our fellow human beings.

We will hear a great deal today and in days to come about all that Phil did; his accomplishments, good work, unique style, his energy. But there is only one thing that really mattered, there really is only one thing: And that is the fact that he cared.

On a personal basis he cared for his fellow Members.

His every concern, his every thought was often for his colleagues, their districts; indeed Phil I think knew some of our districts better than many of us did. He scolded those when he thought we were wrong; he praised us when he thought we were right. Yes, his manner was abrupt, but what you saw was what you got. There was not anything hidden in his mannerisms or in his statements. He often would say to me, "If I am shouting at you, it means I love you." And no one could shout the way Phil could.

On a public basis he also cared and he brought that care to his work. He hated those that did not care. I think that was the one thing you could see in Phil. If you did not care for what you were doing, that is what aggravated him more than anything else. He wanted you to care.

Being a Congressman was to him not just a title, not just a position; it was a name that gave you the ability to do things, to accomplish things. And accomplish he did. Whether it was parks, recreation, tremendous landmark legislation for the poor, the blind, the disabled, the downtrodden; in every sense he was a warrior who cared.

With his death, to some extent, comes the end of an era in this institution. This institution has had large pervasive personalities who have been a part of it for a long time. Yet with Phil's death I think comes the end of this kind of era.

So, to his wife and to his family and his brother John, my wife and I extend our deepest sympathies. And I would just say this, it was a comment said to me when my father died: The person may be gone, but the relationship never ends. And his memory of caring will forever be our guide to the future.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, PHIL BURTON was a big man in many ways. We have heard here today about many of his accomplishments. I knew PHIL from a different perspective, in that PHIL felt so strongly about friendship, he felt so strongly about making sure that those people that he loved and cared for knew it and he was willing to go out of his way to do those things to be helpful and of assistance.

In my short time as a Member, and in some troubling times that I have had, he was willing to come forth and provide guidance and support when others did not know or care. His compassion for others, not only for our colleagues, but his compassion for the poor and his compassion for people who could not defend themselves, is the thing that brought about his untimely death.

He was so committed to righting so many wrongs that he did not really care about taking care of his personal being.

This is the type of thing that made PHIL BURTON the character and the person that he was.

So many things have been said about him and so many things will be written about him; but as I said earlier today, Michael Barone's column in the Washington Post this morning—I would hope that all of our colleagues would read it—probably said it better than anybody. I know that Michael was a close friend of PHIL's. He concluded his column by saying something that all of us in public office would like to have said about us at some point. And I would like to read it here and conclude my remarks with it: "You may or may not agree with what he did but you have to agree he made a difference." And he did.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 12, 1983]

PHILLIP BURTON, 1926–1983

(By Michael Barone)

He seemed larger than life, in the literal sense: He had huge shoulders, a huge head and, most important, a huge voice. PHIL BURTON will probably be remembered by many of his colleagues in the House bellowing with rage, furious that others were not following his lead, pushing a bill or an amendment or a resolution through by something that looked like brute physical force. Others will remember him as the architect of the partisan redistricting plans which on three occasions he got the California legislature to pass.

But he was more than a brawler: He was one of the most productive national legislators of his generation. His achievements include: The 1978 national parks bill, which created or expanded 34 parks, 12 wilderness areas, 8 scenic rivers and 4 national trails; the Supplementary Security Income program, which augments the income of 4 million aged, blind, and disabled people; the black lung compensation program for miners; making strikers eligible for food stamps; increasing the minimum wage from $2.30 to $3.35.

Inside the House, Burton engineered the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee and the institution of the practice whereby the Democratic Caucus elects all committee chairman by secret ballot. He was not the only person who worked to produce these results, but without him most—perhaps all—would not have happened.

He did all these things against the odds, and without much publicity. When he came to Congress in 1965, he was on the farthest left wing of the House; he opposed the war in Vietnam even then. But he was also a skilled vote counter, an instinctive builder of unlikely alliances and a master of legislative detail.

He was not much known to the world outside Washington and his district in San Francisco, his hot style did not come across well on the cool medium of television. He had a taste for accomplishing things by surreptitious means, and sometimes—as on redistricting—he gloated too much over his cleverness for his own good.

Three things stand out from his record. First, he cared about poor people, and millions of them today are receiving aid because of his efforts. He concentrated less on symbolic efforts than on channelling very large sums of money to those he considered in need. Second, he succeeded legislatively because, in a town where so many people read one page briefing papers before going into crucial meetings, he took the trouble to learn the details. He liked to boast that he knew more about welfare policy and national parks and California redistricting than anybody else, and he probably did. Finally, despite adversity, even after losing the House majority leadership by one vote in 1976, he never quit working or fighting for what be believed in.

You may or may not agree with what he did, but you have to agree he made a difference.

Mr. FAZIO. Mr. Speaker, when Phil would complete the process of forging a decision in the delegation he would say. "Now we are going to go in there and do it Quaker style."

And it seems like we are sitting around here like the Society of Friends of Phil Burton speaking out when we feel the need, doing it Quaker style.

There are a lot of things on the list of accomplishments of Phil Burton. The redwoods, Tahoe National Parks, and general black lung, SSI food stamps, but they all seem so trite and in retrospect so small in comparison to the size of the man involved, because he really transcended the issues.

He was a work-a-day legislator. He knew how to get things done. He was not a pontificator, not an intellectualizer like so many of his political philosophy are criticized for being.

He was not a floor man. He was a man who sat in his office and used the telephone like a musical instrument. And he could accomplish more in an afternoon than people who had spent a lifetime working on the same issue.

For many of us who were among the younger generation of California Congressmen he was a protective father trying, despite the objections that we all had on a regular basis, to provide some discipline to the kids, to try to bring order out of the chaos that we all kind of liked to create. In the popular song that we hear so often today, we all felt his thundering velvet hand.

I think he believed he could somehow mold us all, to protect us, to send us on our separate ways to wherever he felt it appropriate for us all to seek our fortunes. And he often did it despite our efforts to frustrate him.

In reapportionment, for example, he was so often spending his time attempting to argue logic to people who did not even understand their own self interest. And he did it tirelessly and with great effect.

He was a truly historic figure in the House, leaving an impact through programs on many people across the land, in fact, across the world. But I think perhaps more importantly, he left a mark on a legislative process that will outlive him as it will outlive us all. He made this place a more democratic House, with a small "d." He in fact made certain that the phrase, "Here the people govern," could find renewal in our times.

We were all fortunate to have loved or been befriended by or known or just observed this whirlwind of a man, who gave so much of himself to his country and to all the world.

And so I can only conclude by saying I was fortunate to have known him, to have served with him, to have observed and hopefully learned a little from him and I would like to simply offer my condolences to Sala and to John and to the rest of his family.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, the tragic news of PHIL BURTON's death has touched us all very deeply. It was a shock to hear of his passing, and this Nation truly mourns a man who did so much for so many.

PHIL BURTON was elected to this body in 1964, and became deeply involved in many areas of legislation of benefit to the American people. His untiring efforts on behalf of the many necessary environmental concerns of this Nation must have given him much pleasure when, in 1978, legislation he engineered culminated in the creation of over 100 parks around the country.

PHIL's contribution on his assigned committees showed us his compassion and caring. He assisted in the passage of legislation on the Education and Labor Committee which raised the minimum wage, and in improving the benefits for the elderly and the disabled. His work on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is legendary, and on many environmental matters, I looked to him for guidance. While we differed both politically and philosophically, it was in these areas where I felt close to him and those issues on which he labored so long and hard.

His respected leadership role in these efforts led PHIL to take the chairmanship of the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee in 1981. Having done so much on the Interior Committee as a subcommittee chairman, his switch to this subcommittee meant that his work to improve labor conditions was certain to achieve the same heights as his efforts on behalf of environmental legislation.

Not long ago, PHIL and I attended a labor meeting at which local officials from my district were in attendance. PHIL's keen mind was quick to recall a vote I had cast in favor of a labor reform bill he had worked on, and was only one indication where his unusual gift for detail only added to his reputation.

I join many of my colleagues in expressing our condolences to his wife, Sala, his family, and his brother, our former colleague, John Burton. I hope it is of some consolation that others share in their grief.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, the first time I met PHIL BURTON was in April of 1974 and I was a candidate for Congress. I came back here to visit and seek advice; and, of course, I dropped in to see PHIL BURTON.

He gave me that advice. He was a little rough and gruff, and asked why I wanted the job. And sometimes now I guess I wonder. But he gave me good advice and I followed that advice.

A couple of months later I became the Democratic nominee in June. And a few days after the election I got a letter in the mail. The letter was from PHIL BURTON, congratulating me on my nomination, and it had a political contribution in it and I gratefully received that contribution.

And then a few more months went by and in November, on election night, in the midst of my celebration of victory, somebody pulled me to the side and said, "You have got a telephone call." And that telephone call was from Congressman Phil Burton.

Well, he did that for more than Jerry Patterson. He did that for a lot of other Members who I see around this room, and others who are not here. And that is what made Phil Burton really special. He will be missed more than I think any other single Member of Congress would be missed were he or she absent. And that is because he was uniquely able to combine desire to do the right thing with the ability to get it done. No one was more committed to conservation of the environment on the one hand and yet jobs and the poor on the other hand.

He managed to put together legislation that saved jobs and saved the environment, all at the same time.

Phil Burton's leadership came not from being in the leadership, but from his ability to lead. It did not come from seniority, it came from working harder than most of the rest of us ever worked. It came from a very brilliant mind, able to comprehend complex details of legislation and what it affected, and whom it affected.

Phil's complete fascination with the political process with legislators like all of us and his knowledge of our districts even enabled him to forge working minorities on issues and bills that most of us would have simply written off. He was bright, he cared, he got the job done. And there is a great big hole in the House of Representatives that cannot be filled by anyone else.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, the family of Phillip Burton has suffered a terrible loss with his premature passing.

To his wife and total partner, Sala Burton, and her family I send my deepest sympathies.

To his mother and brother, Bob, who has such pride in his great achievements, I send my deepest sympathies.

To his brother, John, who was his closest colleague and friend, I send my deepest sympathies.

And to San Francisco, which he represented with a passionate love, and to this body in which he served with such distinction, I send my deepest sympathies.

But it does not stop there. The loss of Phillip Burton will be felt not just by those who knew him but by those many Americans who have benefited from his work.

Phillip Burton was dedicated to improving the lives of all Americans. In 1966, as a Member of this body, he wrote legislation extending the minimum wage to 6.5 million previously uncovered workers; in 1974 he led the fight for the Supplemental Security Income Act, guaranteeing income maintenance to 4 million aged, blind, and disabled Americans.

In 1978, he managed legislation extending the minimum wage and increasing it from $2.30 to $3.35.

Many times Phillip Burton did his work without any publicity and sometimes he took on issues which went beyond his district but concerned the health and safety of the working person. Such a case occurred in 1969 when Phillip Burton argued for including black lung compensation provisions in the Coal Safety Act. Carl Perkins, then Chair of the Education and Labor Committee, said at that time:

> Mr. Burton has no coal in his congressional district. Yet he has worked day and night and I say day and night because he called me at midnight to clarify and resolve the issues.

That bill meant much to the health and safety of coal miners and their families throughout America and will have lasting effects.

When Phillip Burton took on the environment as an issue, the environment never had such a protector. As a spokesman for Friends of the Earth said: "The Earth has lost one of its greatest champions." In 1978 our former colleague managed the most sweeping piece of environmental legislation to pass Congress—tripling the size of the National Trails System, almost doubling the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and more than doubling wilderness acreage. We have felt his spirit in this Chamber today as we voted for his California wilderness bill. The Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 35,000 acres from the beaches of San Francisco, 50 miles to Point Reyes in Marin is his lasting accomplishment. The GGNRA is really Phillip Burton Park.

What made this man so powerful, so awsome, what made him such a giant? Not his wealth—because he shunned wealth; not the trappings of power, because he shunned those also: not his physical presence, although his physical presence was imposing. What made Phillip Burton so powerful, so awesome was his total and complete dedication to the public interest. No one could divert him from that. The inner strength of his conviction, combined with his keen intelligence asd technical skill made him a tower of strength.

And that, my colleagues, is something we must learn from the life and times of Phillip Burton. I will dearly miss the privilege of serving with my friend and colleague, Phillip Burton; I will dearly miss the privilege of representing the city he loved so well, side by side with Phillip Burton. I will dearly miss getting a telephone call any time night or day from Phillip Burton asking: How is it going kid, or stay happy in your work kid.

But I commit myself to carry on his passion to preserve and protect the environment; his passion to protect the vulnerable people in our society who need our help; his passion to keep the procedures of this House open and fair; his passion for peace. Phillip Burton's contributions will be felt and remembered as long as there is an America.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Speaker, I had the unique privilege of serving with Phillip Burton in the California Assembly. In fact, he convinced the Speaker of the Assembly Jesse Unruh to put me on the Social Welfare Committee, and during that service on that committee, Phil would say: "This bill is good for Mervyn. Dymally votes aye." And so enraged I was that I stopped going to the committee meetings. Speaker Unruh called me and said: "I understand you have quit the committee." I said: "Yes. What is the purpose of serving on the committee when the chairman continues to vote for you?" He said: "I think you better go back, because he is continuing to vote for you." So, needless to say, I went back.

I want to reminisce about my pleasant experience with Phil because it brings a sense of personal chuckle to me. On that committee he sent out AB 15 with five lines. It went over to the Senate, which was sort of a conservative body then, and came back to the assembly for concurrence with 79 pages. And welfare has not been the same in California since. The beneficiaries were the poor, mothers who were heads of families, children, senior citizens. In fact, Phil thought it was demeaning to call these children needy children. He changed the term to "aid to families with dependent children."

In 1961, the black community waged a campaign called Two-Four, two black Congressmen and four members of the assembly. In those days Los Angeles County only had one Senator. Phil championed that cause, all out of that cause came the district which is now represented by Congressman Gus Hawkins.

In 1971, on reapportionment, I happened to have the privilege of sharing the Senate Committee on Reapportionment, and Phil championed again the creation of a district which was represented subsequently by Yvonne Burke and now by Julian Dixon. And during the course of that hectic reapportionment, 5 minutes before the adjournment, as Phil was not to do, he came to me with a conference report, and he said: "I have got 2 votes." And I said: Phil, I have got 3, and I am not signing." Phil had the last word on my refusal to sign the conference report because, as Congressman Waxman would tell you, he did not speak to me for the duration of the special session, and the bill passed without a word to me.

Phil in 1981 was criticized across the State for what some termed a partisan reapportionment. But what was not reported accurately was the fact that Phil dedicated himself and committed the delegation to producing districts for Hispanic candidates to run. Out of that, we have two safe Hispanic districts in Los Angeles County, but he also preserved the three black districts.

I recall in 1967 there was a special reapportionment to adjust some lines in Congress, and I was in New York at the Metropolitan Applied Research Institute. Phil ordered me back to California. When I landed in the Senate, the President pro tem told me the meeting was adjourned. And I was outraged. I called Phil and I screamed, and I said: "Furthermore, I left my coat on the plane." In the next 2 or 3 days I received a check from Phil Burton. My wife said: "Are you going to take that check?" I said: "You are right. I am madder than hell with him." And so I still have that coat today, and I shall keep that coat in memory of Phil Burton.

Phil never lied to his colleagues. He was a champion of minorities, women, senior citizens, the poor working men and women. His wife, Sala, was his partner. To them I share my very deep sympathy, to his daughter, Joy, and to my friends John Burton and Bob. I think we will all miss Phil. Words cannot adequately express my very deep sympathy for his family.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, Phil Burton's untimely death leaves all of us who knew him and worked with him with a sense of deep sadness, and it takes from the House one of its most imposing figures. Phil was an intense man, because he cared deeply about the important issues that our National Government has dealt with over the past two decades. He was a fighter for social justice, for programs to meet the needs of our disadvantaged citizens, for legislation to preserve our environment, and for the protection of our Nation's working men and women. As a leader of the Democratic Study Group, he was a key force in shaping that organization as a leading source of research and information for Members of the House.

PHIL also played an important role in efforts to strengthen our ties with our allies in Western Europe. It was my pleasure to work with him closely in his position as leader of the House of Representatives delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly, when he served as head of the assembly's political committee, and more recently when he served as a member of the U.S. Standing Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly.

Above all else, Mr. Speaker, PHIL BURTON loved the profession of politics and the building of coalitions of support behind an issue. Whether he was shepherding a national parks bill through the House, offering his assistance in California redistricting matters, or campaigning on the streets of San Francisco, PHIL BURTON pursued his goals with enthusiasm, vigor, and skill. I was proud to have PHIL as a colleague and call him my friend, and I will miss him. To his beloved wife, Sala, his daughter, Joy, and her husband, his two grandchildren, and his brother, our former colleague John Burton, I extend my deepest sympathy.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, colleagues, PHIL was my neighbor and he was my friend. He was a virtuoso and he was a pussycat. He was a virtuoso who played this House with a degree of technical brilliance that dazzled the most accomplished veterans of the congressional process.

But he was a gentle, warm, sensitive, lovable, tender, marvelous human being. He had a narrow spectrum of interests. He only had three: This planet, its people, and peace.

What he has done to preserve and protect the magnificence of our environment only future generations will understand.

His compassion for people was legendary. PHIL never had time for the powerful and the mighty, but he was always available to those who were in trouble, who needed him, who had to have this giant of a man as their champion and their protector.

My wife, Annette, and I have had a very special privilege of knowing Sala and PHIL as a team. I would like to say a word about that team.

I do not think in the history of this body, there has ever been a more effective partnership for compassionate and caring government than Sala and PHIL BURTON. Annette and I have watched PHIL's pride in Sala, Phil's caring for Sala, Phil's concern for this woman who was so much a part of him.

To Phil's family, and particularly to Sala, Annette and I want to say that we love you, that we want you here with us because Phil's work must be carried on.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for all of us here today to really define Phil Burton. I have known him for about 6 years, and frankly, I have been thinking while these other speakers were talking about Phil, about how I could describe Phil Burton.

To tell you the truth, I really cannot describe him this evening, and I do not think any of the speakers can adequately describe Phil Burton.

I was talking to a Texas colleague of mine this morning and we were talking about how tragic it was that Phil had passed away on Saturday night. I said, "You know, I still can't get over the fact that Phil Burton has died because he seemed to me to be indestructible."

My Texas colleague said, "You know, that is right. Phil Burton's death took me about the same way that Lyndon Johnson took me. I looked at the person as being indestructible and actually larger than life."

I suppose that is why it is very difficult for us today to really capture the personality and character of Phil Burton, and that is because, in fact, he was larger than life.

All of us have anecdotes about how Phil touched us. Some moments were sad and other moments were happy; sometimes you loved Phil and sometimes you hated Phil. But above all, we felt that Phil had compassion. Phil had compassion for all of us, for this institution, and for all the people of this country that he served.

Pete Stark a little earlier talked about Phil Burton contacting him or telephoning him about 1 month ago because he had a problem with the supplemental security benefits. California was under the Federal rules allowed to cut out about $78 million to the aged, the blind, and the disabled. In our Public Assistance Subcommittee, we were about to take that action.

Phil called Pete Stark and me up one evening about 6 o'clock and, as you all know, it was in February, and to go to Phil Burton's office in February at night was very difficult to do because when you go in there, it is freezing. Phil usually had his shoes off, and by that time Phil was ranting and raving about the tragedies of the day.

But Pete and I did go in Phil's office that evening, and Phil did, in fact, rant and rave. The temperature was down to about 50 degrees, and Phil was telling us how important it was to protect the poor, the blind, and the disabled, those who would have been cut out if we would have passed the amendment under the SSI proposal.

Well, a few days later Pete and I did come up with a solution. Basically, it would have, and what it did do, was to require the State to, in fact, pick up that $78 million and, in fact, the blind, the aged, and disabled would receive additional benefits.

After the vote, Pete and I went to Phil and we said, "Phil, we got it; we won it." And it was really due to Phil Burton's help. He was the one who put the formula together. He was the one who called Bill Thomas and others and really put this proposal together for us. Phil said, "That is good. We can screw the new Governor of California. We will teach those Republicans what to do."

That was really Phil Burton. Phil Burton was the kind of person who really had a deep commitment to people and to things that were good. Tonight, I do not know how we are really going to do without Phil Burton. I keep seeing him, and many of us have talked about this today, during the lameduck session when he tried to get something through for San Francisco Bay and how he thought he had unanimous consent. He cut a deal with all the Republicans, and he was on the floor and Floyd Fithian, who was leaving the House, objected, and how Phil ran over there.

You know, when Phil ran, his legs moved but the body from the waist up did not move. So it looked like he was just sailing across the room. He dropped his glasses off, and he grabbed Floyd around the collar. We were all sitting back there at 2 o'clock in the morning laughing at the energy that this individual had, and the ability that he had to be involved in all different things.

But Phil Burton really did not die. He will live with us as long as this body and as long as the men and women in this body believe in justice and righteousness and peace. So we will miss his presence, but his legacy will go on. And we will not miss that because he taught the George Millers, the Henry Waxmans, the Vic Fazios, and Tony Coelhos and all of us what is right and wrong in the short time that we had to work with him.

I want to express my condolences to Sala, and Johnny in particular, and to the Burton family. We will miss Phil, but he will remain with us as long as this institution survives.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my profound sense of loss upon the death of Phillip Burton.

In the course of our lives, we occasionally encounter people whose existence seems larger than life itself, impenetrable by the mortal force which acts upon us every day. From the moment I first met Phil Burton, I knew that he was one of those special "larger than life" individuals. Perhaps that is what makes his sudden death so shocking and distressing.

I first met Phil Burton in 1972 on the back of a flatbed truck in New York. He had come in to help campaign for my friend and predecessor, and his close friend and colleague in the House, the late Representative William F. Ryan. I cherished his friendship from then on and enjoyed the benefit of his guidance.

Before I came to Congress in 1977, I had known of Phil Burton as a leader of the liberal causes in which I had long believed. As the courageous leader of a successful fight to abolish the House Un-American Affairs Committee, he established a reputation among legislators as one who not only spoke out against what was wrong, but was able to do something about it. As one of the few Members of Congress bold enough to oppose the Vietnam war publicly as early as 1965, he built a reputation as a skilled analyst, who did not accept conditions simply as they appeared or as others wanted him to believe.

In succeeding years, through the sixties and seventies, no Member of this body accomplished more for poor Americans. His list of legislative accomplishments reflects the totality in which he dedicated himself to the causes of the needy:

He was a leader in formulating the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act; he authored the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) Act; he led battles to keep the minimum wage at humane levels; he authored legislation to compensate miners who suffered from black lung disease; he authored legislation to provide overtime protection to blue-collar workers who were not previously covered. The list of his achievements is a very long one. In all, his legislative initiatives made life better for countless millions of aged, disabled, low income and working people. The SSI program alone aided over 4 million Americans when it was enacted. Through such programs Phil Burton's legacy outlives him, and will likely outlast all of us as well.

When Phil Burton turned his attention to the environment, as Chair of the Subcommittee on National Parks in the 95th and 96th

Congresses, he forged another trail of legislative successes which can be described as heroic. Under his leadership, the subcommittee reported out the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978 which tripled the size of our National Trails System, doubled the size of our Wild and Scenic Rivers System and doubled the wilderness acreage in our National Parks System. He stewarded passage of the Alaska lands bill that protected over 100 million acres of land; he introduced legislation to fund the renovation of urban parks and recreation areas; he helped shape the Historic Preservation Act into what it is today; and, he led the fight to limit mining activities in scenic wilderness areas.

But, even this long list of legislative successes did not exhaust Phil Burton's relentless drive to improve the human condition. His years of legislative engagement taught him that the system under which our body operates failed to provide the most open and responsive representation possible. He provided much of the leadership to change it.

In his pursuit of affecting reform in our committee system, he demonstrated a mastery of procedural issues such as had rarely been witnessed previously. Perhaps even more impressive than his achievement was his strength of character. After losing a hard-fought contest in 1976 to become majority leader by one slim vote, Phil Burton continued to attack issues with undiminished resolve as if the loss had never occurred.

I was fortunate to sit with Phil Burton on the Education and Labor Committee until this year. His achievements on the committee were monumental yet he sought no personal accolades. He sought only to provide those who most needed help with the support they needed to survive and succeed in our complex and challenging society. He was a master of detail and he made a tremendous difference.

With the passing of Phillip Burton, I have lost a friend and a true inspiration. To his wife Sala, his daughter Joy, to his brother John and to all of the Burton family I extend my love. They, and everyone who mourns the death of this great man and leader, can find some peace and solace in the knowledge that the achievements of Phillip Burton are truly larger than life. He will be sorely missed by the entire Nation.

Mr. LEVINE of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise on this solemn occasion to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Phil Burton, one of the finest public servants ever to serve in the House of Representatives.

The concerns to which PHIL dedicated himself read like a laundry list of any group of people in need of his help. Those who will miss his booming voice and gruff manner in this Chamber include environmentalists, coal miners, and other laborers, gays, the poor, the elderly, the sick, the disabled, and others who found themselves a champion in PHIL, often when no one else was willing to speak on their behalf.

PHIL BURTON never shied away from a tough fight. In fact, he seemed to relish them. I suspect that the toughest fights were those he enjoyed the most. He seemed always to be able to rise to the occasion and was at his best whenever the situation demanded.

At a time when many people in public life have chosen to forget about the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and the disenfranchised, PHIL BURTON remained committed to serving the needs of those who needed his assistance the most. His commitment and his mastery of the legislative process remained total, and though deals he might make, he refused to compromise on principle.

Even though he found himself last year in a major battle for his congressional seat, he refused to knuckle under to those who told him either to moderate his views or to moderate his language.

Rather than forget the people and the issues which elected him to office, his dedication to serving the people of his district and the people of California caused him to continue to expand his interests and his involvement and never to diminish his tenacity.

It is because of his efforts that there is now a national park in the Santa Monica Mountains. It is because of his efforts that miners who suffer from black lung disease today receive decent benefits if they are struck by that crippling disease. It is because of his efforts that the elderly were assured of a cost-of-living escalator in social security benefits. These are only a microcosm of PHIL BURTON's efforts.

I want to join my colleagues who have already spoken in expressing sadness and condolences to PHIL's family and especially his wife Sala, and his daughter Joy. His death is almost impossible to believe and it will be a staggering loss to us all.

I keep thinking I see PHIL in the Chamber. When I realize that I do not, I remember how we lost one of the finest legislators who will ever serve in this House.

Mr. CARR. Mr. Speaker, Phil Burton's death is a great loss to me personally, as I am sure it is to many of my colleagues.

Every new Member of Congress seeks our senior Members who can serve as mentors and models as one learns the ropes here in Washington. Phil Burton was such a friend to me. He taught me a great deal about how to get things done in the Congress, and continued to serve as an example for me throughout the next few years. He taught me respect for this institution, and when I needed guidance, Phil Burton was there.

It goes without saying that Phil's death is a loss for the average hardworking American, for those who believe deeply in environmental protection, for the elderly, and all others who often feel powerless in the face of the bureaucracy and the giant wheels of Government. Those causes will be weaker without Phil Burton's sympathetic voice on their behalf, but they will live on after him. His friendship and the example he set, however, cannot be replaced and will be deeply missed.

Mr. Speaker, as we honor Phil Burton, my hope is that we will all strive to live up to his example as we carry on the work he began.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, others have spoken eloquently tonight about Phil Burton's legacy to the country and to the Congress. I would like to touch on what he has meant to me—and I say this without hyperbole, he has had as profound an effect on my own political values as anyone I have ever met.

Phil Burton's commitment to the progressive political philosophy was heartfelt, enduring, intense and all-consuming. He embraced the causes of peace, civil rights, elimination of poverty, environmental protection, civil liberties and the rights of working people—and excuse the expression—income redistribution, with a passion rarely seen in elected officials.

His work in the legislative process, both here and as a California State assemblyman, was determined totally by these goals; and as everyone who knew him could attest, the legislative process was his life.

He was not the only progressive Congressman. He was not the only Member of this body to care about issues, to demonstrate compassion, to speak out in support of controversial positions, to embrace the politically unembraceable; but where he left the rest of us behind was in his devotion to the advancement of the progressive political agenda in the legislative process. He was not content with a good vote or a moving speech. He mastered every detail of his legislative program, every technicality, every ramification. Knowing full well that good speeches and noble intentions count very little toward legislative victories, he buttonholed colleagues, orchestrated interest groups, struck deals and overwhelmed others with his knowledge, his passion and his personality.

He blended his idealistic commitment with a willingness to utilize an arsenal of productive legislative tactics to achieve monumental accomplishments where the rest of us would have failed. In the process he offended some and made political enemies; but the poor, the oppressed, the infirm and future generations of Americans are far better off because of his work. About how many of the rest of us can the same be said?

He was not one who ignored the individual in his relentless pursuit of the abstract. On countless occasions I personally observed him put aside a legislative or a political task to help someone in need of assistance. I have been a personal beneficiary of his concern and his love. He was my teacher, both by example and by design.

To his bride, Sala, and to John and to Robert, Sala, of course was a participant and a partner is his accomplishments and a confident and a consoler during and after his infrequent defeats, my very deepest sympathies.

As some of us who knew him well and wonder how he mustered up the energy to produce even a fraction of what he produced, now that is gone, I imagine we could just sort of see him leaning over and instructing us to be operational.

I just find it ironic and sad that in the excitement of being elected to this wonderful institution, that the first chance I have to address the body on any subject is on the passing of a man who I had hoped to spend years working with and learning from.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, the sudden loss of PHIL BURTON is a terrible shock. A vigorous, dedicated and important force in the Nation's life has been taken from us, taken from the people of California whom he served so well, and from the House of Representatives which he loved so dearly. This is a loss to this Nation and I must say, it is a great personal loss to me. I considered him one of my closest friends and mentors.

I first met Phil when I was a young Democrat at UCLA and I decided to become active in the Democratic Party. Phil and Sala were both involved; John Burton, Howard Berman, Merv Dymally, so many other figures in California politics were there at that time.

Phil developed over the years not only a goal that we all tried to achieve in terms of public service, but he led the way. Many of us are here because of him. In a very literal sense because of the district that he drew or the way he urged us to campaign to be sure that we could get elected and of the fact that being elected was an important way to serve our lives, to be of public service.

Words are an inadequate tribute to Phil, for his was larger than life. He brought a passion to the practice of politics that is rarely matched, a passion that drove him relentlessly to pursue the causes that were a part of his life: The labor movement, civil rights, the Vietnam antiwar struggle, environmentalism, and political reform. In each he was a leader who never abandoned principle, a general who could never accept defeat and he was victorious so very often.

What Phil understood so well, and what marked his genius, was his ability to exercise power on behalf of his broad and unshakable ideals. It was never enough for Phil to simply embrace a just and worthy cause; his faith had to be transformed into achievements.

Phil cherished most the ability to put together a wall-to-wall coalition that was unstoppable. This is how he put together legislation on behalf of the poor, the dispossessed, and the defenseless.

Phil has become a legend in his own time. He was a legislative giant. He was the leader of the California delegation. He understood that politics could not be divorced from the legislative process. He never saw it as something that was distasteful, or peripheral matters to the idea of getting legislation passed and for public policy goals. He had the political savvy of the best of the old bosses, yet on the issues he cared most about, the environment, the cause for the elderly, the poor and the disabled, an end to discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or sexual orientation, he would run circles around academic experts and think tank specialists, and he combined this with an integrity and personal honesty unmatched by anyone in any profession.

Phil's legacy will shape our lives for decades to come. He was responsible for so much legislation in so many crucial areas. Phil was a pillar of American liberalism. I was honored to be his friend, companion, ally, and colleague.

He was a giant among us and we are diminished by his passing.

All of us grieve his passing and tender our heartfelt sympathy to Sala, his wife, who shared with him both the victories and losses of his distinguished career and to their daughter, Joy, and to PHIL's brothers, John and Bob.

I listened to the reminiscences of Merv Dymally which triggered in my mind the events that we had shared over the years. There were so many reapportionments we had in California and, of course, PHIL was involved in all of them.

I was the reapportionment chairman in the State assembly in 1971 and one of the first things my daughter learned to say was that PHIL BURTON was on the phone.

He developed a language that all of us will say to each other, and it will spark in us a memory of how he enriched all of us, "to be operational," "to be happy in your work," "you are in your mother's arms," "you bet your bippy on that."

I am sure as we think about him we can develop a whole catalog of color that he added to the English language.

We will all miss him here in this institution and I will very much miss him. Janet and I spent many hours with PHIL and Sala and cherished and valued the friendship that we have had.

Mr. ZSCHAU. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a short handwritten note from a constituent. It closed with the request, "and don't forget the little guy."

Our colleague PHIL BURTON, who we remember here today, never forgot the little guy. He was the voice for those who felt they had no voice.

During his years of service in this body PHIL BURTON accumulated power and earned the respect of his colleagues. But he continued to be concerned with those who were powerless and those who in many cases lost their self-respect.

PHIL BURTON and his work will long be remembered by the little guys of this country. They will remember him because he never forgot them.

I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, I have never spoken in the well of the House before. This is Congressman Esteban Torres' maiden congressional speech. I am both saddened and honored. I am saddened, deeply saddened by the death of my friend, PHIL BURTON. I am honored, highly honored that I can use this first opportunity to address the House to pay homage to a legislator whose accomplishments are legend.

Certainly I will echo what many of my colleagues have said here today. I can remember when I fisrt met Phil Burton. It was back in the days as a young Democrat as well, and my first Democratic Convention in San Francisco back in the mid-1950's. And in my career as an autoworker and later as an autoworker representative, I can remember the kind of work we did together in formulating and of working for common legislation in the State assembly.

I remember him best for his unequaled commitment to the working people of this country. He was a master legislator who used his innumerable skills to help people.

Phillip Burton battled to increase the minimum wage. He struggled to open up the food stamp prgram for the hungry. He succeeded in enacting the black lung compensation program for miners. He brought the aged, the disabled, within the ranks of those eligible for welfare. He helped establish a cost-of-living escalator for social security recipients.

There are and will continue to be lasting memorials. He was an appropriate advocate for labor issues because he himself epitomized the hard worker.

I cannot imagine a more productive and active legislator than Phil Burton was. His keen insights, his talents and his personal zest quickly established Phil Burton as one of the most respected Members of Congress in this generation.

Phil Burton's commitment to excellence, his courage, his vision, his ambition for other people are all qualities we need to respect and to emulate. He did not merely voice support for greater representation of women and minorities in Congress and in the California Legislature, he led the battles.

He is probably more responsible than any other single person for the changes that have made this House of Representatives an open and responsive body today.

I mourn his loss as a friend and as a teacher. I remember what he used to call me. He used to call me Jefe, a Spanish word for boss.

Can you imagine Phil Burton calling me boss? But that is the way he was.

My wife, Arcy, and me, offer his wife Sala, and his daughter Joy, and his family, our deepest sympathies and condolences.

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to the memory of PHIL BURTON, a dear friend and a man who influenced me greatly.

In all his legislative combats, the majesty of his abilities to bring issues to a focus and resolve them, in his intelligence, toughness, his aggressiveness, the characteristic which was most fundamental was his compassion, his crying out for humanity and the Earth. He cried for those who suffered. He was what I admire most, a liberal who was realistic, a compassionate man who in the hard world of politics got things done.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Speaker, this experience of sitting here and listening first to the California delegation and then other close and dear friends of PHIL BURTON is an experience that I will long remember. What occurs to me in all of this is that there has been left us a bigness that we really do not understand.

If you will examine the diversity of the lives that this man touched I think we can begin to figure out what it is that we have lost.

Some of us come here and nurture shallow interests that protect us in our districts and at home and often we battle among ourselves not realizing that there is a much bigger picture and a bigger game at stake in this place.

I am not sure that our Founding Fathers ever anticipated a man like PHILLIP BURTON. I am not sure that we will ever see his kind of greatness in this place again.

It is fitting he should be buried in a park. He certainly had the bigness of all outdoors.

As a southerner, you can imagine how I explained to North Carolina that I was for PHIL BURTON for majority leader. I will tell you about that some time.

I can remember him frequently saying we should have a couple of omnibus bills around here once or twice a year maybe where we rolled everybody together and got everybody on board for one or two big bills.

I believe that, as somebody earlier said, PHIL will never be replaced. The closest thing we have got to replace PHIL is Sala. Those of us that know him and know her, know how much this man loved his wife and how much he cherished her and how strong a partner and friend she was for him.

In closing, I have heard a lot of great PHIL BURTON one liners here tonight and I am sure that right at this very moment PHIL is meeting with St. Peter and they are working on the little "d" St.

Peter democrat study group, but we will learn more about that as he reveals it to us.

But a few one liners from Phil in closing: All politics is local. You are a big boy. It is on the level. It ain't on the level. And just do what is right.

We are going to love this man as long as there is breath in our body and we should search our souls to find ways to learn from this greatness that has been among us.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, Congressman Phil Burton was an incredible legislator, leader, and defender of just causes.

His spirited and principled defense of the interests of the powerless of America will long be remembered. He befriended my wife, Marilyn, and I. He advised and counseled me and I know we will all miss him and I will miss him very much. He was such a unique individual who left his mark wherever he went. I am proud to have served with him and I offer my condolences and sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. LEHMAN of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for providing me this moment to say a few words about the man who I believe will go down as the single most effective Congressman the State of California has yet produced. A man I had the pleasure of knowing as a personal friend and loved very much.

There were three things about Phil that you noticed immediately: the size of his character, the quality of his mind, and the dimensions of his heart.

Phil projected himself totally into every issue he became involved with. He never simply entered a room like the rest of us; he invaded it. It was impossible to ignore him or go around him. You had to face him, and you had better know your stuff.

Phil's integrity was always beyond question. It was not an integrity developed based on any logical analysis of how one ought to live. Rather, it sprang from deep within his gut, from the very core of his being.

Much has been said and much more will be said as the legend of Phil Burton grows about Phil's unique style. The best measure I believe is in the results. Phil was a man in a hurry. He did not waste time. He did not mince words. And he did not have time for those who did.

He had a greater capacity to absorb facts than anyone I have ever met. He insisted on precision, exactness, and thorough analysis. The legacy is remarkable. He rewrote rules of this House, he brought justice to people living in our territories, he rebuilt our National Park System and he revamped our Nation's labor laws. He did this at great personal expense, by throwing himself totally into solving those problems. He always sought to help the powerless who needed help the most. He loved to tackle the toughest issues, take the biggest risks, and play for the highest stakes. He absorbed his work and his work absorbed him until they were indistinguishable.

In the end he paid the ultimate price for his passion but none of us doubt that PHIL would have done it any other way.

PHIL BURTON, like the giant redwoods he saved, like the breathtaking coastline he preserved, will remain for a long, long time as an important part of our landscape.

I am proud to have been his friend and especially grateful to have served with him in this institution even for this brief time.

PHIL, I know you are happy in your work.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I could not help today but, on the floor as the wilderness bill was before us, talking about the fact that wherever PHIL is looking down upon us from, that he was probably disappointed because he loved the battle on the floor. There was to be some controversies; there were some differences. And if there was a person in this business who loved to get into the middle of that kind of struggle—the clatter of the shields and the armor—that was a piece of that which he cared most about in this process.

In 1957, it was my privilege to be involved in some public affairs work in San Francisco for a couple of years. But that year I went to a park in the center of the city and there, for the first time in my life, saw PHIL and Sala. At this particular gathering, it was not PHIL speaking, but, rather, Sala. And the issue and the underlying philosophy involved in that meeting was a bit different than a lot of us would think of as standard today, because for years and years and years PHIL and Sala were way, way ahead of the crowd in terms of the kinds of policy change and progress that this country needed to strive for.

Many years later, after I went to the State legislature, PHIL here in Congress, I had the questionable privilege of being the Republican point man on reapportionment. And suddenly I had the opportunity to get to know Phil firsthand. State Senator Bob Beverly and I were then assemblymen together and roomed together. Phil suddenly began to appear on our doorstep every evening, I mean for 3 months every evening. He would share ice cream sodas with you, eat all the food you had in the house, he talked politics, talked about public affairs, talked about people, needless to say talked about lines. He knew more about reapportionment; he knew more about every person's district, assemblymen, State senator, Congressman, than that individual knew about their own district. Literally he would call you on statistics about your own district off the top and say, "You had better check that again."

A walking computer who carried out that area of tough political responsibility like nobody else before him and I would guess nobody else after him.

More importantly, over the years we have had a chance to become friends as we have done some tough battle. Phil Burton is an inspiration to anybody who cares about this process. It is not good enough to be elected to Congress and come and sit in the committee room and hope that the tough issues will go away. You need to cut out your areas of expertise, do some homework, and one step at a time effect the process.

Phil knew that by instinct, probably by the time he was 3 years old. He was about changing our system; he was fighting every step of the way for the poor, for those who are deprived in our society. He would stand back for no one if it meant the possibility of change in our system.

You have got to respect Phil Burton for his profession; he was a pro, absolutely no question—that few of us have met an individual in politics or public affairs who is more committed to not only bringing about change but insisting that the process be responsive and operate well.

Those of you who from time to time have been in discussions that talk about the fact that Phil could be impatient, could be irascible, he absolutely could not stand incompetence, but all of that was because he expected people to work at your job.

I must tell you that from this Republican's view, there has not been a Member of this House who has in the past made a greater contribution from our State. I am not certain there ever will be one. I consider Phil and Sala to be friends. I was shocked at his passing, but as I thought about it today, he was smiling at us for the rather incompetent way that we handled this process without him and his presence on the floor.

Bless you for this message.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, like all of my colleagues, I was deeply saddened and shocked to learn on Sunday of the death of Congressman PHILLIP BURTON. Although I had the privilege of serving with PHIL BURTON for only a few months, I have watched for many years as he gave our Nation unfaltering public service.

PHIL BURTON combined his superior political skills in the best manner possible. In this body, he was oftentimes aggressive, but he was aggressive for causes of compassion, justice, beauty, and health. He was a partisan Democrat, but his guiding light on issues of national policy way always, first and foremost, the public interest.

Mr. Speaker, our environment has lost one of its strongest and most tireless defenders. The poor, the elderly, blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and the labor movement have all lost a champion. But the biggest loser, Mr. Speaker, is America, which has lost one of its finest public servants.

I realize my speech is brief. But there is no need for me to eulogize at length the achievements of this man. My words pale in the face of his accomplishments. I only hope I and the other freshmen Members of this body can help carry on the causes for which PHIL BURTON fought.

To PHIL BURTON's widow and family I send my deepest sympathies. I know they grieve at the magnitude of their unexpected loss. I am certain my colleagues join me in saying that our prayers are with them today and in the weeks ahead.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, it was a wonderful privilege for me today to be with Mo Udall in charge of getting PHIL BURTON's California wilderness bill through the House for the third time. I felt some trepidation because I did not have the skill of the great legislative master, PHIL BURTON. But his spirit carried it through and carried it through very well.

We have heard such eloquent statements here that it would be very difficult to add to them, and yet we are all grasping to get somehow a feel of this man who even in life seemed bigger than life, who was a man of such tremendous interest and such tremendous commitments, so many commitments that it is almost impossible, thinking of him afterward to begin to grasp what Phil did and what he stood for.

If there is one thing that epitomizes it in my mind it is a line from Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard": Phil refused to shut the gates of mercy on mankind. It did not matter whether it was the people of Bikini who were the victims of the atomic testing who were small in number and helpless. I sat with Phil where he came up with all kinds of ingenious ways to see that these people received the kind of justice and recompense and restitution that was their due.

Or it might be the poor in California. I remember being in Phil's San Francisco office some years back and he showed me a bill that he helped pass when he was in the State legislature and he said, "You know what that bill is going to cost the people of California this year—$1 billion." But, he said, "because of that bill, nobody is going to starve in California." Obviously he felt a very deep satisfaction over that blow for the underprivileged.

When I first became a member of the House Interior Committee, Phil found out somehow that I was interested in creating a park in an area that was near my community. He came over to me and said, "You want to get your park bill passed? Here is the way to do it." And he told me how to do it. And in due course, it passed the committee. And eventually it passed the Senate. Shortly after it passed the Senate, I ran into Phil at the White House at President Ford's Christmas party. He said, "Say, how is your park bill getting along?"

And I said, "Well, it passed the Senate, but I don't know whether the President is going to sign it. The Interior Department opposes it." He said "Come with me." And he dragged me through that tuxedo-clad crowd over to Rogers Morton, our now deceased former colleague who was then Secretary of the Interior. Phil went right up to the Secretary and said, "Now, Rog, why don't you give John his park?" And then he nudged me to get me to give Secretary Morton the arguments for the bill.

At the time, I thought Phil was simply trying to help a colleague. But as time went on, I became astounded at the depth of Phil's commitment to protecting our natural heritage. Phil was not a backpacker; he did not like to go out and rough it. Far from it. Often I wondered what the wellspring of his commitment was. Perhaps I can explain it by telling a story that someone told me about my grandfather when he was a very old man, in his nineties. He had given some land years before for a small park for my hometown. And whenever he was out for a ride—he could not do much walking in his old age—he always wanted to drive through that park. And one day the nurse, who was with him said, "Mr. Seiberling, I understand you gave this land. It must be very valuable today. Don't you miss the dividends you could have earned" And he said, "See that family picnicking over there? You see those children playing? Those are my dividends."

There are literally millions of people today who are enjoying the dividends that Phil Burton, in his labors for humanity, produced. I think the number of lives that he personally touched, in and out of Congress, are absolutely uncountable, and yet you and I know that they are there.

And I think it is a happy circumstance that his wife and his brother, John, were both committed to and shared the same goals he had, and I look forward to the many days of sharing with them a future relationship and I know my other colleagues do.

It is not the number of years a person lives that matter. It is what he accomplishes in those years. By that measure, Phillip Burton outlived us all.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment before I recognize any of my colleagues about the unusualness of what we are doing here. We are now in our third hour of tributes to a great gentleman.

In the 19 years that I have been around this great House, I have never seen this type of display for one of our departed brothers. I have checked and this is one of the longest that the House has ever had for one of our colleagues. I think it is very fitting that it be for our colleague, Phil Burton.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the first thing I would say is that I think that if Phil Burton were here, he would want things to be lightened up a little bit. I very much enjoyed a prior remark made by someone earlier on the floor talking about the bill which passed today. And he said, "You know, you can bet that if Phil Burton had known he was going to die, he would have had a whole lot more in that bill," I think that is absolutely true.

When I think of Phil, there is not any one thing that stands out except Sala, I guess, because he was literally involved in so many things. When I first came here he was involved passionately in civil liberties issues, the old HUAC Committee, the Vietnam war, he was involved, as everybody said today, in the environments, in parks, worker health, congressional reform, SSI, medicaid reapportionment.

I performed the same duty for the Democrats in Wisconsin in the last two reapportionment cycles that PHIL performed for the California Democrats, and yet, so help me God, PHIL would come to me during each of those Wisconsin reapportionments, and he would know almost as much about what we were doing in Wisconsin as he knew about what he was doing in California. He would ask me what I was doing for Bob Kastenmeier and what we were doing about Grant County and what we were doing about cities in Wisconsin that I did not know anytbody had ever heard of. Yet he had. I realized afterward that part of that was because he had lived part of his life in Milwaukee. He had grown up there along with Ab Mikva and Pete Stark.

I guess I would have to say that PHIL BURTON was probably the most complicated man I have ever known in my life. I told George Miller here earlier that I think PHIL would probably gag if he heard sugary eulogies tonight. He would say, "Lay it all on the table, baby." And one last time he would want it, warts and all.

My relationship with PHIL I think was a lot like he was; it was up and it was down, depending upon what we were dealing with at the time.

I think of him, I guess, in association with Bob Kastenmeier. The first Member of the House I ever met, outside of the Wisconsin delegation, before I was elected was PHIL BURTON. I went over with Bob to the old rotunda, now the Democratic Club. I was in here in January 1969, desperately looking for money. I was running in a special election on April Fool's Day in 1969. And PHIL was there with Bob, and PHIL was showing the same solicitous concern for candidates for the House that he became legendary for later on in his career. He told me places where he thought I could get money, and after I was elected and appointed to the Appropriations Committee, he literally knew the age, the life expectancy and the career interests and how long Members intended to stay here for almost every single person on every single subcommittee on the Appropriations Committee. He told me which subcommittees I ought to get on if I wanted to be a subcommittee chairman before I was 108. It was an incredible performance.

I guess I also remember him very much at the New Year's Eve parties that Bob Kastenmeier would have every year. He would have people like Don Edwards, Mo Udall and Bob Eckhardt there, and we would solve all of the problems of the session at every New Year's Eve party. He would get mad at somebody before the night was over but patch it up in about 20 minutes. They were always good times.

I loved working with him in the DSG on congressional reform because, first of all, we cared about the same issues, and we wanted about the same thing. You could always get to the bottom of it with PHIL because you knew in about 8 seconds that he would see what the power imperatives and the power relationships were in those issues, and all of the other issues would sort of be cast aside. He had an instinct for power and an understanding of the power relationships in this House that I think was truly uncanny.

I was talking to a person who was a new appointment to the Steering Committee this time, and she was telling me, "My God, it is uncanny. PHIL BURTON can tell you what is going to happen on the Steering Committee four and five steps ahead of time." And she said, "You know, if we had three other liberals in this place who understood that, we would be in great shape."

He was a marvelous person to have as an ally. He would drive you absolutely crazy if you were not on his side.

I remember standing at this very mike in the Democratic Caucus back in the early 1970's, pushing for a reform in the caucus rules, and I remember PHIL getting up and making a point of order against my amendment on the grounds that it would screw up a deal that he had just put together. And Bob Eckhardt stood up and he said, "Mr. Chairman, I have heard some unique points of order lodged in my life, but I have never heard a point of order lodged on the grounds that it would screw something up." And PHIL grudgingly admitted that perhaps that was correct, and he withdrew the point of order.

I did not vote for PHIL for majority leader. He knew that he was my second choice after Dick Bolling. He did not like it, but he understood it. And I had a number of strong disagreements with him throughout my service here. But it is just an incredible loss that he is gone. He could alternately delight you and drive you up the wall. But the fact is that his saving grace was, as many people have indicated earlier, his passion. He did care; he did believe; he did fight. And the things he fought for and the people he fought for were the things and the people who needed fighting for. He just bled politically; he bled emotionally; and he just gave it his all for as long as he had it in him.

I think he knew why he was here, he knew where he wanted to go, he knew what he wanted to get done. He was a great practitioner of that slogan which I have heard many times, "Either lead or follow or get the hell out of the way." Phil understood that, and that is the way he acted.

The hardest thing for me to imagine is that that incredible energy of his is gone. You just have to think that it is around somewhere still, organizing. You just have to believe that, because it is probably true. This place has lost in the last few years a lot of fighters. It has lost people like Mikva and McCloskey and Bolling and Meads and Eckhardt and Moss Rosenthal, and now Phil Burton. Some have left voluntarily, some have retired and some have, unfortunately, left through death, as did Phil.

I think this place, because of the loss of people like that, has become in many ways and this party has become in many ways a more cautious place, it has become a more tentative place. We are going to miss many times people like Phil who would stick their necks out and do some of the things that so many others did not want to do because you would make somebody mad.

We are going to have a lot of fights when we wish that he was here. And I guess all I would say, in closing, is that it is kind of funny, because when somebody dies, we almost always focus on the fact of that person's death. In Phil's case, because he died younger than he should have, I guess we understandably focus on the fact that he died so young. But the important thing about Phil was not that he died so young. The important thing about him was that he lived and he worked and he did it all with abandon, he did it with relish, he did it full bore, he did it all out, and he just loved what he was doing. That is the only way you can do anything effectively in politics. You just have to love what you are doing, because if you do not, there are so few other rewards in this business that you just eat yourself up. I think that love and that relish made his public career, in the end, if anything, larger than the man, and that I think is the most important thing that you can say about any public official.

Mr. BOSCO. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege to work with and know Phil Burton for only about 6 years. Almost all of that time was in the California Legislature. Most people here in Congress do not realize this, but Phil always had a variety of measures pending before the legislature, even while he was serving here in the Congress.

In fact, it was always difficult for me to know how he could find the time to manage both institutions at the same time.

I think quite honestly I can say that most of the time I knew PHIL I was afraid of him, but I can truthfully say that he never asked me to do anything that would personally or politically hurt me. He was always extremely loyal to his friends, impeccable in his honesty, and represented people who otherwise may very well have been disenfranchised in our system.

His wife, Sala, as we all know, was a major part of his success and a part of his fiber. All of us look forward to working with her because she will carry on in his tradition. He is a friend that we will miss very much. The State of California and this country has lost a great friend and we wish his family well and sympathize with them during this time of grief.

Mr. LEVITAS. Mr. Speaker, sitting in the Chamber and listening to Member after Member rise to pay tribute and share recollections about PHIL BURTON is a very strange experience, I know, for all of us, because if there was ever anyone that was so full of life and energy, that was a human dynamo of intellectual and emotional power, it was PHIL BURTON.

To stand here tonight and think about PHIL BURTON, it is as if I could almost see him coming through the rear doors of the Chamber now, at this late hour, in a rumpled suit, collar askew, leaning forward in a half-slouch, marching down to commend John Seiberling on his handling of the bill that was passed today that was PHIL's, and then saying, "John, we should have done something else. I just thought of it. When we get to conference we will work it out there."

The other thing that I thought about tonight, as I have heard Member after Member speak about PHIL, and the gentleman from California, Mr. Coelho, make reference to it a moment ago, about the unusual nature of these proceedings, the number of Members who had stayed to participate, the length of time, is that if you were to ask people 3 days ago, "Was PHIL BURTON a popular person in the House?" most people would have said no. Controversial, pugnacious, always abrasive. Even when he was working with you, it was as if he was on the other side as far as his combativeness was concerned.

So why is it that this individual, this rough, tough individual has, on the moment of his death, brought out such intense feeling and admiration that is being expressed, and so much affection?

I think it is because everyone who knew Phil Burton knew for sure that what you saw and what you heard and what you experienced was Phil Burton. There was no pretense. There was no effort to try to temporize either with his principles or with those things which he was committed to. He had the true sense of integrity, of being what he was, and having the ability to accomplish so many things.

I was about to say that Phil Burton feared no one. I hesitate to say that, because I think he did fear Sala. He not only loved her and doted on her as no one could possibly dote on a person they were married to any more. No matter who it was, if Sala said, "Phil," Phil stopped what he was doing and came right away to Sala. It was a beautiful relationship that they shared.

I remember when Sala had injured herself. I think she had broken her arm or sprained an arm, and Phil had to lead our delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly. He would not stay there 1 minute longer than was absolutely necessary, and came rushing back because he did not want to leave Sala by herself.

Phil Burton is someone who is truly irreplaceable. He has left his mark not only on this institution, but he has left his mark on America. He had one of the most incredible intuitive senses of justice I have ever seen in anyone, intuitive, instinctive. Whether it was civil liberties, whether it was civil rights, whether it was social rights, Phil Burton's instincts drove him to a position that stood up and spoke out when others feared to do so.

He had an almost passionate, I think it was passionate, drive to see social justice in our society, to eradicate poverty, to see that the working person in this Nation had a fair chance and an opportunity.

We have heard so much about his commitment to the environment and conservation. If anybody ever asks, "Where will Phil Burton's monuments be?" They will be all across America, as you look around the national parks, the redwoods, parks in Ohio, parks in Georgia. I will never forget when Phil came to me during my first term and knew of my interest in the Chattahoochee River National Park, and as he had done with others, said, "This is important; not just to you, but it is important to all, and this is how you go about doing it." But his monuments will live for centuries in that contribution.

He was a genius, as we have already acknowledged, in politics. To Phil, politics was a high calling. It was the ability to translate ideals into reality. He could form coalitions that no other person would even conceive of. I remember watching Phil Burton pass the Agriculture Authorization Act one year. The coalition he had to put together was to get the conservative, rural areas of this Nation to form a coalition with those in urban centers on food stamps, the subsidy farm programs, tobacco and grains, to come together and work with people who represented urban areas who needed and wanted the food stamp program extended. When you saw the vote go up there, it would absolutely boggle your mind to realize the coalition that Phil Burton had formed.

His instinctive sense of justice made him one of the leading supporters of the State of Israel in its early days and down through its current difficulties. I want to tell my colleagues, I was in Congress maybe 5 years before I realized that Phil Burton was not Jewish. I thought Phil Burton was Jewish, because he almost had a passionate Zionist love of the State of Israel. I know in part that was due to his wife, Sala, who survived the Holocausts of Europe. But I remember one day in Munich, Germany, when we were at the North Atlantic Assembly meeting and a resolution was being offered on the occasion of the death of President Sadat and there were those there who were trying to turn it into an issue that would pit person against person. Phil Burton, with tears in his eyes, appealed to that multitude to do justice, and they did.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Phil Burton was a passionate believer in democracy and the fact that institutions in our democracy are what make this system work. That is why he believed so much in this House and its processes.

The night I got elected for the first time to Congress, I think maybe the second or third call that I got that evening was from somebody named Phil Burton, who had known more about my campaign than I did and he said to me that night, "You are going to Congress because it is a good place to be if you want to make a difference," and Phil Burton made an indelible difference.

There is no doubt in my mind at this moment as we speak here, and I say this with a degree of sadness for my Republican colleagues, that Phil is already drawing the district lines in heaven and hell and forging a coalition between those two bodies that will serve for eternity.

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, April 10, 1983, the residents of the territories and I lost one of our best friends in Congress, Representative Phillip Burton of California.

Words cannot describe the immense shock I felt when word had been conveyed to me that Congressman Burton died quite suddenly in a San Francisco hospital. It is hard to comprehend that this man, who had such an extraordinary amount of energy and vitality, is silent. Death has stolen from our midst a man whose talents and love of life and justice brought him to the pinnacle of political power. For years to come, the name of Phillip Burton will always be mentioned as a man who possessed one of the most effective understandings on how this legislative body truly functioned.

I personally feel his loss with great grief. For the past 15 years, Phillip Burton stood out as a beacon of strength in the Congress for Guam and the other territories. As the chairman of the Subcommittee on Insular Affairs, Phil championed numerous bills of interest to the territories. More than anyone in memory, Congressman Phillip Burton stands out as a man whose unyielding love of justice and the principles of democracy led him to pursue a policy of fairness toward his fellow Americans in the territories by the Federal Government.

This passion he felt for justice led him to be in the forefront of the successful drive to create congressional representation for Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. He worked ceaselessly with me to persuade Congress to enact the historic Guam Land Claims Act and other legislation in behalf of the people of Guam. And, over the years, other territories have been equally as fortunate to have the backing of Phil Burton. He knew that these islands could never share in the American dream without the financial and political support they needed and he committed his endless energies, talents, and consummate political skills toward this goal.

Phil kept his door open to anyone from the territories. His interest in our well-being never ceased nor did his determination to make us first-class citizens of this Nation.

Some may not understand why a man such as Phil Burton would work far into the night for causes that have no direct concern to his constituency. While it is true that his district in San Francisco does have many minorities, that would not explain the sincere concern he felt for those of us who come from the islands. The answer perhaps is best understood from a line he once said: "You know, it is important that all of us do the best we can to make this world a better place to live."

That is the essence of Phil Burton and it is a philosophy by which he lived. Phil cared because it was his nature to care. And more importantly, he had the tenacity and the courage to stick by his feelings even when those feelings went contrary to what others thought was appropriate. Phil never cared much about appearances; rather, he cared about results. And we who live in the territories will benefit from the results brought about by this complex and wonderful man for many years to come.

His loss will be felt by thousands of people across this great country. I join my fellow residents of the territories in saying a fond goodbye to Phil Burton and in offering a prayer for his beloved wife, Sala, and his daughter, Joy. While he may be gone from our midst, he shall never be gone from our hearts and our minds. Thank you.

Mr. AuCOIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in expressing my heartfelt sympathy and understanding to Sala tonight and to my good friend, John, who through Phil I came to know. I guess with Sala and with John, and particularly with Phil, I really feel a sense of family.

I told my colleagues on Monday when I came back to Washington from a flight from my district in Oregon that it was an amazing coincidence that I had in my briefcase the latest issue of the magazine Wilderness, published by the Wilderness Society, and in that magazine article, that edition, was an article from the National Parks and the Public Lands in the country written by our departed friend, Phil Burton. I read it with pleasure. The passion was there in his words in print as they were in his verbal expressions on the floor, more importantly, in the cloakrooms. I relished it.

I reflected on my friend and remembered that just shortly before leaving on that trip, I saw Phil and spoke to him about the Oregon wilderness bill which he helped counsel me on. As in the case of other colleagues who spoke before me tonight, he told me how to pass it, and we did pass it. Phil knew.

As I was reading the article, I also reflected on the other causes that he fought and he had. He had so many of them.

I reflected on the fact that he was such a power broker and how good it was that in such a liberal, in such a person who cared so much for little people and the powerless, that we had somebody who knew how to put together power and how to wield power, how to use power and knew how to make power produce results.

I do not think there are any power brokers in the time I have studied Congress or watched it that were more effective than Phil Burton. He was the genius that my colleagues indicated tonight. It was just that he put it to such great uses that refreshed me and I think that is one of the reasons people are here tonight.

This man was my friend and I do feel an enormous sense of loss. He took me under his wing, as he did others in my class, the Watergate class of 1974. I got the same call the night of my election. I was lectured as to what Congress could be and should be.

I remember learning then about the value of loyalty, learning them from him about knowing your subject, and knowing it twice as well as your adversaries, and PHIL certainly did that.

I learned from him that night in that phone call about what organization meant and how that translated into power which could be put to good ends.

This guy had the heart of a lion, he really did, the heart of a lion. As I have thought about it and fought about issues that he fought for with me, and some that he fought against me. I can even now hear the sound, and I can see the fury of the man when he became enraged, got organized, and turned it on.

The sound and the fury was there on every one of the fights I fought. The sound and the fury of PHIL BURTON was there before us and was at work in the committee reforms of 1975 that George Miller talked about.

The sound and the fury was there of PHIL BURTON in the public lands monuments John Seiberling described tonight.

The sound and the fury of PHIL BURTON was there as efforts to improve and give greater voice to the peoples of the trust territories that Mr. Won Pat talked about tonight.

The sound and the fury was there of campaign reform that Dave Obey worked with him on.

The sound and the fury behind civil liberties and health care and reapportionment was there.

I guess the thing that I am so amazed about is what kind of a mind this was, such an incredible mind. I literally do not know how a human mind could possibly be packed with as much information, as many ideas. The store of information was just absolutely incredible, and the inventiveness and the innovation that was a part of the mix, I just do not think there will be anything to compare with it for years and years to come.

He literally did know twice as much as any of his adversaries on any of the issues that he faced. He literally knew twice as much about my district when I first ran as I did.

I can remember that he took me under his wing when I first ran in a district that never had elected a Democrat and told me how to win and I did because I followed his advice. And then I remember a few years later after a couple of relatively easy races going to PHIL and explaining I had a tough race. I see colleagues here on the floor who come from districts like mine, and I know he gave them the same kind of help.

But I came back to PHIL I think it was about 6 years later and we had agreed on the phone that we would meet on the floor during the next vote and that I was going to tell him about the problem that I saw in my next election race.

Before I could even open my mouth he began to recall the complexities of my congressional district. He remembered.

He had legislation in the California Legislature that he was promoting. He knew his district and he was able to remember and deal with reapportionment as well in Wisconsin, as Dave Obey said.

I simply do not know how a mind like that came to be or how it will ever be duplicated.

The other thing PHIL BURTON means to me is an example, I guess, of the kind of politics I would like this body to, and particularly Members on my side of the aisle, to avoid and instead try to emulate. PHIL BURTON was not the kind of politician who thought politics was the pretty speech. PHIL BURTON was not the kind of politician whose intellectual interests in an issue snapped off when the television lights snapped off.

PHIL BURTON's work and interest was there from the beginning through the glory moments, but always there through the very end of any goal or issue or cause that he picked up.

I think I read in the paper today that he was the antithesis of the politician who walks into a committee room with an issue at stake, takes from the staff a one-page briefing memo, studies it intensely, says the requisite lines, gets the issue behind him, and then goes on and quickly forgets, only to move again when he gets another one-page issue brief stuck in his hand by staff.

That was not PHIL BURTON, and if we can just reflect on this man's career and now his loss, and each of us realize in a very deep way what kind of politician he was and the kind of politics that he practiced, the kind I have just described, this place will be so infinitely better.

I think as we have gone through this long evening, perhaps an unparalleled evening as each of us have taken the well to pay tribute to our friend, I really hope as we have attempted to try to bind up some of the emotional wounds we feel at a time like this that we can reflect on the kind of politics that Phil Burton practiced, the depth of the intellectual interest, the length of his commitment and maybe bring some of that into our own work on the important fights that we have before us.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I used to constantly marvel at the incredible brilliance of the way that Phil Burton could use the machinery of this legislative body. But even more amazing about every so often I would think despite all of the miraculous things he would do I would say to myself, "This guy is on the level." And that was the even more amazing fact, that despite the fact that he knew how to wield all of the levers of power, he was always on the level with his colleagues and with the public interests and that is the true miracle of this miraculous man.

Mr. AuCOIN. Mr. Speaker, Phil Burton in sum was an absolute colossus. He truly was. And I know he would be laughing if he heard me say this because he really didn't savor the limelight. He liked the results and he liked to be able to sit back in the quietude of his office or wherever else it was he reflected and perhaps it was the cloakroom, and savor the results rather than the limelight.

But he was a colossus and a master of the bold stroke and he lived a congressional life and I think a personal life that, again, I think is an example and one that I hope that perhaps can stay with me in the rest of the time I am here. That example really comes down to the statement that is a fairly famous one that says the following: "He who dares wins." That is the kind of man Phil Burton was, the kind of legislator he was, and I appreciate very much my colleague from California making available this time so that Phil's colleagues can express their feelings about him, and maybe we can take out of this some lessons that will make all of us better legislators.

Mr. McHUGH. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with all of Phil Burton's friends and colleagues in expressing admiration for his commitment and record, and in extending condolences to Phil's loving wife, Sala, and to his entire family.

I would especially like to pay tribute to Phil Burton for his accomplishments as chairman of the Democratic Study Group, a position that I am presently honored to hold.

As others have said, millions of Americans owe a debt of gratitude to Phil Burton. Coal miners and factory workers, the poor and the elderly, the sick and the disabled, and the millions who enjoy our national parks and wilderness areas have all benefited—and will continue to benefit for generations to come—from his boundless energy and relentless drive and commitment.

But there is another group which owes Phil a real debt of gratitude. I am referring to Members of this body, particularly those of us who were elected, as I was, in 1974 and since. We are primary beneficiaries of the reforms that Phil Burton and the Democratic Study Group pushed through the House during the late sixties and early seventies—reforms that democratized House procedures and that allowed junior Members to have a full voice and play truly meaningful roles in the legislative process.

It is diffcult to imagine today that prior to enactment of these reforms, junior and even the middle level Members had little impact on legislation either in committee or on the floor, other than to place their stamp of approval on the decisions of the all powerful and virtually untouchable committee chairmen and their senior allies who dictated the contents of legislation.

Today, power and decisionmaking are dispersed. Revival of the long-dormant Democratic Caucus, election of committee chairmen, creation of caucuses within committees, new committee procedures, and recording of votes on amendments on the House floor have curbed the power of committee chairmen and opened the door for even freshmen to participate in congressional decisionmaking. Today, Members—not the seniority system—decide who will chair House committees, and all Members, rather than only the chairman and his allies, determine policy and the content of legislation.

Obviously, Phil did not bring this dramatic transformation about single-handedly. Others also played major roles in the reform movement—current Members such as Tom Foley, Dave Obey, Bill Ford, Sam Gibbons, Don Edwards, Mo Udall, Neal Smith, John Seiberling and not least of all Speaker O'Neill, and former colleagues such as Jim O'Hara, Don Fraser, Ab Mikva, Jack Bingham, Frank Thompson, Bob Eckhardt, John Culver, the late Ben Rosenthal, and John Blatnik.

But Phil was a leader of the reform effort throughout his service in the House, and the greatest breakthrough in reform came during his chairmanship of DSG. During that period, from early 1971 to early 1973, most of the major and most far-reaching reforms were adopted. Included were:

The automatic secret ballot vote on committee chairmen at the start of each Congress, which made chairmen accountable for the first time to the rank and file Members who gave them their power. Previously, the seniority system alone dictated who would chair House committees and chairmen were accountable to no one.

Guarantee of at least one major committee assignment for all Democratic Members including freshmen.

Establishment of a bidding process whereby all Democratic members of a committee are given an equal opportunity to bid for subcommittee vacancies. Previously the full committee chairman had sole appointive power over subcommittee assignments, a power which they used to reward their friends and punish Members they did not like.

Establishment of a similar bidding process for subcommittee chairmen plus the requirement that they be approved by secret ballot vote of the Democratic members of the committee. Previously committee chairmen appointed whomever they wished.

Creation of Democratic caucuses on each House committee with authority over party ratios on subcommittees, subcommittee budgets, and so forth.

Rules setting forth the powers and duties of subcommittees and subcommittee chairman with respect to holding hearings, handling legislation, and so forth. Previously the committee chairman had sole control over all such matters.

Establishment of a new Steering and Policy Committee which was subsequently given authority to recommend Member's committee assignments as it does today.

Restriction on closed rules to allow the caucus an opportunity to determine whether a particular amendment should be made in order.

An effective rule to require open committee meetings.

Use of the caucus for the first time in decades to instruct the Democratic members of a committee with respect to legislation in committee.

Adoption of a party policy which subsequently resulted in enactment of the legislation which terminated U.S. military involvement in Vietnam and Indochina in August 1973.

As I mentioned, the foregoing is merely a list of what was accomplished during the 2 years Phil Burton was chairman of the Democratic Study Group. He also played a key role in numerous other reforms adopted both before and after his chairmanship of DSG, both as a member of the DSG executive committee and as a member and chairman of the Caucus Committee on Organization, Study and Review, and as chairman of the Democratic Caucus itself.

But there can be no question that the reforms which PHIL helped to achieve fundamentally altered the power structure and the legislative process, with the result that the House today is far more responsive to and more representative of the American people.

PHIL BURTON had, as someone else once noted, "a rare combination of idealism and political savvy—an incredible knowledge of what makes Congress work—a rare insight into what motivates Members and—an insatiable appetite for work."

Both DSG and the House shall be poorer for his absence.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, with the death of PHIL BURTON an overwhelming presence departed this House. It was a twofold presence, both physical and political. The sheer size of the man oftentimes created the illusion of a larger-than-life presence. PHIL BURTON was a big man whose appearance faithfully depicted the essence of the human being. He was a man who spoke with authority, who commanded attention, who demanded respect for his ideas. PHIL BURTON was a powerful man.

This colleague was also knowledgeable as well as expert in the use of power. He could only be termed a liberal in philosophy, but he had that elusive ability to get along with both liberals and conservatives. He understood the legislative process and was adept in his participation in it. Recognizing that good legislation—and in fact in most cases, any legislation—is the result of compromise, this California Congressman was an able and skillful lawmaker. He was pragmatic, and he was effective.

A former Member once told me that PHIL BURTON tried to prevail upon him to pursue a leadership position in the House with argument that "you are a conservative, on the other side from me on most issues, but I can depend on what you say. I trust you. I will support you."

Politically, PHIL BURTON had few equals. He practiced the art, bringing to politics a persevering, persuasive, and sometimes abrasive personality and, in turn, extracting from it every possible advantage. He never allowed a defeat in one area to deter him; he simply took another course, forging ahead to, if not the same success, one of equivalent worth.

Phil Burton had priorities. He had goals. His contributions to the conservation and preservation of our environment and its resources are legion. He believed in the reality of access to a national park for everyone in our country and worked constantly toward that end. He was in the vangard of those espousing the needs and supporting the development of potential of our American dependencies, including American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and Guam.

And to those who, as Hubert Humphrey sensitively described, "live in the shadows of our society"—the poor, the aged, the infirm, the disadvantaged minorities—Phil Burton was all his life dedicated. And to implement this dedication, he would as quickly use an arm twist as a honeyed-tongue supplication to achieve the ends he desired.

Phil Burton was a man with good traits and with characteristics which some would term unattractive. But he was indeed a presence to be reckoned with—most times to his advantage, and consequently to the advantage of worthwhile causes. He was a positive force. This fellow Member was a man who lived his life with bold strokes, who sought to meet many human needs through any means available to him. He was decisive, he was arrogant, he was practical, he was innovative, he was vital, and he was irritating in every sense of the word. He fought hard and won many battles, and what will be remembered about Phil Burton is that these battles were worth winning.

We disagreed often, but I liked Phil Burton. I will miss him.

Mr. de LUGO. Mr. Speaker, I never thought I would stand before this body to mourn the passing of my friend, Phillip Burton. The vitality of the man, and his energy, seemed to even charge the air when he entered a room. He drew attention like a magnetic force. The brilliance of his mind, and his quick and total grasp of issues was spellbinding. If he seemed driven in his intensity, it would seem now, in retrospect, that maybe he surmised he had but limited time to accomplish all that he had set out to do.

Phil's efforts touched the lives of practically every family in some way or another throughout the Nation and its territories, and that he did accomplish so much is a credit not only to the man, but to his wonderful wife, Sala, who gave him the inner strength he drew on. My deepest sympathies go out to Sala and to all Phil's family.

We have heard our colleagues here today extol PHIL for what he accomplished and for what he achieved for others in so many areas. I would like to speak on one particular area. PHIL BURTON and the territories of the United States.

Not everyone is aware of how much time and talent PHIL devoted to the insular possessions. Some who did were surprised that anyone would give so much to an issue so far removed from a home district or national headlines. Beneath that powerful and sometimes gruff exterior was the deepest, most consistent, and most sincere concern for the poor, the disadvantaged, the elderly, the minorities—all the underrepresented and the unrepresented.

When I first met PHILLIP BURTON over 15 years ago, that is exactly what the U.S. Virgin Islands were—unrepresented. We had no delegate to Congress. The American citizens in the U.S. Virgin Islands were not only excluded from voting in Presidential elections, we could not even elect our own Governor. I was elected to an at Large position and came to Washington in 1968, basically as a lobbyist, an unseated representative of the interests of the people. Within the space of a few short years, the American citizens of the U.S. Virgin Islands soon had the right to vote for their own Governor, and a Delegate seated in the House of Representatives.

PHIL with his brilliant command of the legislative process was the principal architect of those changes, and of many, many more, I was proud to have been that first Delegate in the Congress, and prouder still to have known and worked with this great man for so many years.

PHIL abhored inequity in any form. He had a clear perception of the territories, and an insight into their historical future that the territories dared not have, and that the United States seemed unwilling to have.

He saw those distant insular areas without representation, without full political rights, with little support for their fragile isolated economies—the discards of a shrinking world which had diluted their former value as strategic outposts.

He saw, too, the people of those islands, their warmth, their rich cultural histories, and their unstudied ability to live race with race, and class with class, in a harmony that our Nation has not yet achieved.

He saw that the territories needed much from the Nation whose flag they proudly bear. They needed full rights, better schools and hospitals, economic stability, and above all, full opportunities and the self-confidence to utilize them.

He saw those islands struggling with the responsibilities of compliance with the laws of a system in which they had no voice and with which they were economically unprepared to cope. In one of his last statements on the floor of this House in speaking on my amendment to the Caribbean Basin Initiative he said:

> Once again, we see the insular areas of the United States—paying an improper price for what is deemed by others to be in the higher national policy interests.

More than any person before, he recognized, and articulated, the inherent responsibilities of the United States to the people of the possessions this Nation chose to acquire, whether through cash or war. And he knew that in honoring those responsibilities, in giving those people the right to full participation, to self-esteem, to self-confidence, the United States had much to gain.

Two centuries ago, this Nation, itself then a possession, embarked on the greatest experiment in history with the founding of the democratic Republic of the United States. PHIL was ever conscious that it is an experiment, and he saw that only by being honorable, and open, and courageous enough to learn, even from its smallest and futurest-flung possessions, would the United States succeed.

He died believing in that, and I would urge my colleagues, not to let his knowledge die with him.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the Virgin Islands loved PHILLIP BURTON and some of those who worked closest with him over the years have forwarded to me statement's expressing their feelings at this sad moment. I submit these statements for inclusion in the Record of these proceedings.

STATEMENT OF GOV. JUAN LUIS, U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

I was shocked and saddened to learn of the sudden and untimely death of Congressman PHILLIP BURTON.

Congressman BURTON was a stalwart, longtime friend of the Virgin Islands and he was highly regarded for his vast experience, wisdom, and sound judgement. His death is a serious loss to the Virgin Islands and the other U.S. territories.

Mr. BURTON fought many battles in Congress on behalf of the Virgin Islands and authored many valuable pieces of legislation to provide Federal assistance to the people of this territory. He was also a true champion of our efforts toward greater self-determination.

A frequent visitor to the Virgin Islands, Congressman Burton was always interested to learn of ways in which he could be of assistance to residents, and his advice, counsel and hard work to provide substantial improvements for our people will leave an indelible mark in the history of these islands.

I have today sent a cablegram to Mr. Burton's widow expressing profound sorrow and heartfelt condolences on behalf of the government and people of the Virgin Islands.

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Phillip Burton—Friend and Champion

(By Earle B. Ottley)

To many Virgin Islanders who are familiar with the incomparable contributions of Phillip Burton to the people of the Virgin Islands, his sudden and stunning death leaves us with the same empty feeling we get when we lose a dear member of our family.

Phillip Burton was an extraordinary man. He was blunt, impatient, hard-driving, unhypocritical, protective of the underdog, and especially supportive of the working man, minorities, and underprivileged everywhere.

From the very first day he stepped foot in the Virgin Islands and became aware of the social, economic, and political problems that plagued his fellow Americans in this part of the world, he thrust himself into the forefront of the struggle to remove the shackles of second-class citizenship and give our people a better life.

His continuous, inspiring fight in the interest of the Virgin Islands was completely devoid of personal considerations. He championed our causes because he loved the people of the Virgin Islands, and was convinced that it was the decent thing to do. That his advocacy of Virgin Islands issues required him to expend considerable energy and time was immaterial to him. He was as devoted and concerned as if Virgin Islanders were as part of his constituency as the residents of San Francisco.

He utilized his overpowering political strength, his oratorical artistry and his fearsome parliamentary legerdemain to bludgeon or coax crucial programs for these islands, or to push through amendments to our Organic Act to bring us closer to the American dream of first-class citizenship.

He never sought credit or praise for his good deeds. In fact, he rejected any suggestion of recognition. He was a "big" man, big in stature, big in heart.

Phillip Burton is gone, but he will live forever in our minds. On several occasions over the years he angrily rejected suggestions that public facilities be named in his honor. He considered such gestures as patently "colonialistic". We do not need memorials erected in his honor to keep him in our hearts.

His service to the people of the Virgin Islands will not be debased by any suggestion that he would profit in the slightest way from performing his duty as he saw it.

He spent more time, expended more energy, made more important and lasting contributions to the people of the Virgin Islands than any other Member of Congress, from any State of the Union, in the history of our Nation. And he never sought, nor would he accept, any credit for his good works.

This man was in a class by himself!

We hope that God will give his good and devoted wife, Sala, the strength and courage to carry on.

To the people of the Virgin Islands, PHILLIP BURTON was a great man. He was a great Representative of the State of California whose voters elected him to Congress for a score of years. The people of the Virgin Islands would have given him an even more thunderous display of appreciation if we had the opportunity to vote for him.

We mourn the passing of a good friend and stalwart champion, of an American patriot who had a great impact on the lives of millions of his fellow Americans, and a leader whose considerable potential for further service to the Nation remains unfulfilled.

We mourn a friend and a champion. His death will not diminish the love and respect all Virgin Islanders have for him.

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STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE PHILLIP BURTON

(By Elmo D. Roebuck, President, Virgin Islands Legislature)

On behalf of the Legislature of the Virgin Islands, I wish to express our profound shock at the untimely death of Representative PHILLIP BURTON. His passing leaves a void which can never be filled.

For many years PHIL BURTON led the fight to improve the welfare of the people of all the territories of the United States, including the Virgin Islands. As just one example, he was instrumental in obtaining the passage of legislation providing the people of the Virgin Islands with modern medical facilities on the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John. He secured funds to enhance our educational programs, to improve our roads and for a host of other vital needs. Most important of all, he was always in the forefront of the fight to bring more self-government for the people of the Virgin Islands, always within the framework of the U.S. Constitution.

We also want to express to his family our grief at their loss. We know them well, for PHILLIP BURTON was no stranger to these shores. We share their sorrow, and offer our condolences.

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STATEMENT OF GOV. RALPH M. PAIEWONSKY, ON THE PASSING OF CONGRESSMAN PHILLIP BURTON

I am shocked and saddened by the untimely death of our dear friend PHILLIP BURTON and would like to join with his congressional colleagues and friends in expressing my sentiments as we mourn the loss of a wonderful man.

I met PHIL BURTON when he first entered Congress 19 years ago, and we have been good friends ever since that time.

As former Governor of the Virgin Islands 1961–69, I had the privilege to appear before the House Committee on Insular Affairs on matters affecting our islands, and found him to be understanding, cooperative, and helpful. We share a common liberal philosophy seeking a greater degree of autonomy for the people of the U.S. territories. As a result of PHIL's dedication, ability, and with his help the Virgin Islands obtained for the people many benefits including but not limited to the people's right to elect their own Governor and to be represented in Congress by a Delegate and also financial aid.

PHIL was a champion in Congress for the underprivileged and for the advancement of political and human rights for the people of all U.S. territories. He is considered here in the Virgin Islands as our best friend in the Congress and his passing is a great loss to the Virgin Islands and to other U.S. territories. He was a frequent visitor to the Virgin Islands and was always interested to learn firsthand from the people and Virgin Islands elected officials our problems and to be of assistance. He will long be remembered for the service he has rendered to his country and to its territories, and for the many acts of goodness he did for all the people.

To his wife Sala and family we extend our heartfelt condolences—and may the Lord sustain all who mourn this great man and comfort them in their grief and sorrow.

Mr. CORRADA. Mr. Speaker, I am shocked and saddened by the untimely death of PHILLIP BURTON, a good personal friend and highly respected colleague. PHIL was a great public servant. His commitment to the poor, the elderly, the handicapped, and the less-advantaged in our society was strong and unwavering. His excellent achievements in support of the most needy in our society will stand for many years to come. His dedication to preserving our environment was extraordinary. Among his many accomplishments there are some that I personally know were of great pride to him; the preservation and protection of the Redwood National Park in his own State of California, the establishment of the Golden Gate National Park, and the enactment of the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978. That law created the largest number of national parks ever established at one time, a total of 14 new parks.

In addition, PHIL became known for his deep interest in the insular areas of the United States and his appreciation of the problems faced by their inhabitants. As Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico, I can vouch for the many times when his help and assistance were invaluable.

I remember many instances when his aid was particularly important. His support was a key factor in the extension to Puerto Rico of the food stamp program in 1971 when my predecessor, Hon. Jorge Córdova-Diaz moved toward that goal. Since I came to Congress in 1977, Phil was always ready to lend a hand. In 1979, the Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 165 recognizing Puerto Rico's right to self-determination. In 1980, we approved Public Law 95–205, which recognized Puerto Rico's jurisdiction over its submerged lands out to a distance of 10.35 miles; and last year's omnibus territories bill, Public Law 96–357 allowed Puerto Rico and the EPA to work out an agreement for a loan to help Puerto Rico pay its share of the construction costs for completing five sewage treatment plants.

His willingness to help Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific as a defender of our interests and concerns earned him the admiration and gratitude of the people of those areas. Politically he did not stand to gain much by helping the people of the U.S. insular areas. His interest was based on his profound commitment to the principles of justice, fairness, and democracy. In Phil Burton, we, the delegates of the U.S. territories had a great ally, a wise adviser, and a true friend. We will always miss him. His death is an irreparable loss not only to his district in San Francisco and his beloved State of California, but to the Nation as a whole.

My wife Beatriz joins me in sending our deepest sympathy to Sala, their daughter Joy, his brother John, and all the family. Our thoughts and prayers are with them at this sad time.

Mr. COLEMAN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as a freshman from Texas, it may seem strange to some that I would ask for a minute to speak about Congressman Phil Burton, a wily veteran from the State of California. But to most of you who knew Phil better than I, I believe you will understand. I knew him only 3 months. Our conversations were really never very long and occurred far too infrequently. But what conversations.

He became to me everything that I think everyone who has spoken before me talked about and probably mentioned most often tonight; that was that he became to them what he became to me in that short period of time: A friend.

He gave me more advice about Congress than anyone else, about how it works, about its rules, its history, its traditions, but, more importantly, I think, than anything, its politics.

One other thing that he stressed to me and that I found perhaps the thing that I should say tonight about Phil was that he cared about the people in this House. What he told me was, "Oh, there will be Members, both Democrats and Republicans, who will really anger you and even make you wonder why it is that they serve here. But most important," he said, "you will always find something good about every last one of your colleagues."

Well, that is the reason that I asked for the time from the gentleman from California tonight to stand in this well—because I found not just something good about PHIL BURTON, I found a very lot good with PHIL BURTON.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. Speaker, my colleague PHIL BURTON was a man admired and respected for his vision, his achievements and his qualities. He made a difference in my life. He was, in the classic of the word, a hero * * * grand and noble * * * and large and powerful and potent. For nearly 30 years, PHIL served a cause other than his own * * * a cause which, through his commitment and dedication, he then made his own. For nearly 30 years, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON has wielded his power on behalf of workers, the underprivileged and the poor. For the last 30 years, PHIL BURTON has used his tactical brillance and legislative genius to give the unrepresented and underrepresented a political voice, and the opportunity to use it.

As long as I have known him, PHIL has been a champion of the interests of the peoples of the Pacific and the island communities in which they live. There was no man in this body more willing and able to help the Pacific peoples in their desire to preserve their values and better the quality of their lives. PHIL's commitment to the communities of the Pacific will be deeply missed by all of us.

Perhaps the best way to say what PHIL meant to me is to use his own descripion of himself. PHIL once said this about his battles in politics:

> I'll never fail to fight for social, racial, or economic justice as long as I can draw a breath.

As long as I have known him, PHIL has not failed to do just that.

I will miss my good friend PHIL—a friend who was taken in an untimely fashion from his service to this body and to the people of his district and our Nation. We, all of us, will miss him, for there are none who can ever replace him.

I join my colleagues in mourning the passage of a man who had no equal in service to our Nation. May God rest his soul.

PHIL and Sala enjoyed the people and islands of Hawaii and visited us when he could arrange it. In the spirit of Hawaii, my wife, Millie and I convey our aloha to Sala and the Burton family.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I guess I can repeat many of the personal things that have been said throughout the day. In the longer period of time sequence, I received a phone call the night of my first election in 1964. And PHIL was doing it the night of the last election.

What I want to mention as we add our little grains of sand to this that was PHIL BURTON is something that has been mentioned very briefly by my colleague from Georgia, Mr. Levitas, and that is PHIL BURTON's participation with me and my predecessors in agriculture. Few would know that an urban Member from a district in San Francisco would be so involved in caring for rural America, for the farmer as well as the farmworker. Mr. Levitas mentioned the coalition that helped pass a bill. Well, he helped pass a lot of agricultural bills. It was an alliance that was best not mentioned. Here I do it now because PHIL BURTON will no longer be with us. But from the very beginning, as we initiated the process of working legislative-wise agricultural legislation, this expert parliamentarian-legislator came to us. "I want to work as you draft the legislation so that I can help you."

We never went to him. He always came to us as a Member, as a subcommittee chairman and, later, as a chairman of the committee. It was always Mr. BURTON coming, "I want to help. Let me give you an idea of what our problem is, let me give you an idea of what it is you need to correct. Give me the tools, and I will give you the vote," said this craftsman of parliamentary procedure.

So I think that it befits me, as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, to publicly thank PHIL BURTON for what he did for rural America that he wanted no praise for, that he wanted no mention of, that he wanted nothing except that he cared for the worker as well as for the producer. And he worked the floor and he worked the doors and he worked before and after the session more, possibly, than some of the members of our committee; and sometimes he kind of got ahead of we who were working with the legislation.

So I guess the farmers of America never knew, but now I speak for them that they got good legislation within the art of the possible because here was a craftsman who worked always within the art of the possible, not bouncing against walls and not going after things that were unachievable, but working within the art of the possible: What could he do to help?

In my early years, when a junior Member did not approach a senior Member, I remember that I needed some urgent help for migrant workers in a labor bill. It was PHIL BURTON who went with me to Mr. O'Hara, the subcommittee chairman, to draft the wording of how the migrants could be protected in that specific bit of legislation.

So it is endless, the things he did for those who worked in rural America, the migrants, but also for the producer, for the rancher, the dairy legislation, the wheat, corn, cotton, sugar, rice, all of these things that you would not imagine a Member from San Francisco working for, not in a provincial way, but for all of us.

So I join my colleagues with the same love and admiration and respect that all of us had for PHIL BURTON. I join in the sympathy to his wife, his daughter, to my dear friend, his brother, John, who worked with me.

I think that possibly the thing that he will be most remembered for is his work with the great lands of our country, with the forests, and with the wilderness and with the rivers. That will be his monument.

I would like to thank him and remember him for what he did for agriculture, but I think that possibly the poet Markham said it before, many many years ago, of another giant. He said it of Lincoln, but I would like to borrow it tonight for PHIL BURTON, and I quote Markham:

He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
And when he fell in whirlwind.
He went down as when a lordly cedar, green
With boughs, goes down with a great shout upon
The ills and leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

That was PHIL BURTON.

Mr. LOWRY of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and his three other colleagues from the State of California, for now placing us into the fourth hour of very sincerely meant tributes and commemorations and memories to what has been said many times, one of the greatest Members ever to serve in this House.

Mr. Speaker, I have had the opportunity to listen to those tributes all day, except for a couple of times I had to leave the floor because I was choking up. I appreciate, as do some others, some people who talked about the real PHIL BURTON in some light that allowed us to liven this back up a little bit, to be able to progress through this.

I used to get tapped by PHIL about once a week to go over to his office about 6 or 6:30 at night while he worked on making this place run the way he wanted to make it run. During that period of time, he would have at least three staff people busy out in his outer office simply handling the phones when PHIL BURTON was doing his work. There would be Members of this House and Members of the other body, and frankly, I enjoyed much more hearing the way he talked to Members of the other body, and perhaps a few other people around this country, all on these different lines as PHIL BURTON was picking up and setting down those lines, and he was conducting the business, I would really say in the way of a colloquy, but it was not here on the floor that PHIL BURTON gave those great speeches. It was in the confines that were somewhere between 2 feet and 6 inches apart, and it seemed to work very effectively.

I only voted opposite PHIL BURTON one time on organizational things in this House, and there are various people I see sitting around this room who might remember that gigantic organizational fight on which PHIL was on one side and the leadership was on the other side within the Democratic Caucus in 1980.

I was interested in a high-ranking appointment out of steering and policy, so I sat there and said, "Well, I am going to weigh my best interests," and so I voted with the leadership and against PHIL. Boy, that was a mistake, I will tell you right now, and if I had it to do over, I woud have voted with PHIL, because when it was all said and done, the person that that vote meant the most to was PHIL BURTON, and the only thing I really got out of that, having made that smart decision to vote with the leadership against PHIL on an organizational thing was a couple months reprieve from going over to his office at 6 or 6:30 at night, which perhaps is good for me.

We can all tell stories and stories, and people here have served much longer and had the honor to know PHIL BURTON much longer than I have. I have had the honor to know him for 5 years.

When Henry Waxman was saying that it was the first words that his young child had learned, or some of the first words, was that: "PHIL BURTON is on the phone," my wife, Mary, in Seattle, had talked to Phil Burton for, I would guess, 20 to 30 hours before I had ever talked to him once in my life. In 1978, when I was running for a seat in this House against an incumbent, Phil Burton was the only Member back here that knew that I could win that race. He was the only one who really worked on making sure that the opportunity for another young Democrat existed to be able to come back here and serve.

I do not treasure Phil Burton because he gave me that opportunity, like he gave many other people. I treasure Phil Burton because he fought for the poor. On the things that really count, on the things—I am going to have to back off here a minute—on the things for those who had no other representation, as has been said over, and over, and over today, Phil Burton, that is what he fought for. That is why it chokes us up to think about Phil Burton being gone. That is why we have lost one of the most important Members we could ever have. For those of us, and there are many people that I can lay eyes on here within this room now that agree with this, that think that we are in a time when the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer, and those of us who think that is not what this Government should be doing, we have, in the loss of Phil Burton, lost our greatest ally. We are going to have to commit ourselves to picking up that slack.

As he said in one of those famous comments in the newspaper in the midst of this very tough reelection campaign he just went through, he would never go for this "God damn Reaganomics," and none of the rest of us should either.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, sitting here through these wonderful statements, one gets rather stimulated in thinking about our departed brother. I like particularly the poem that the gentleman from Texas, Mr. de la Garza, read from.

Another facet of Phil's personality, though, reminds me of the poem by Dylan Thomas called, "There Was a Savior," which I guess is supposed to be a description of Christ, but there is a wonderful line in there ending the poem in which he refers to this person as having the soft, unclenched, armless silk, and rough love that breaks all rocks.

Phil Burton was that kind of a person. He was rough and yet inside he had that kind of love that could break all rocks, legislative or otherwise, and some of the remarks just made by the gentleman from Washington called that line to mind.

Mr. BEDELL. Mr. Speaker, it takes me back, as I am sure it takes the gentleman back, to the time that he and I came to Congress together in that great class of the 94th Congress and we were a pretty green bunch. The person that advised us more than anybody else and was probably our godfather, if we had one, was PHIL BURTON.

We have had many eulogies here this evening as we come to a close tonight of the many great accomplishments of our good friend, PHIL BURTON. And it is true, there is a lot of important legislation that PHIL is responsible for and his honors are most extensive; but I have always claimed that the most important thing that any of us do in the lives we live here on this Earth are the examples we set for others and the example PHIL has set for so many of us is, first of all, an example of commitment. I know of nobody in the Congress who took his job more seriously and was more committed to do what he felt was right than was our friend, PHIL BURTON.

The second example that he set for us was the example of caring. My colleague from Texas said how he cared for the Members of Congress. That is right; but let me tell you, he cared for a lot more than just the Members of Congress. He even cared for more than just the citizens of this continental United States, as he showed the unique care for the citizens of the Pacific Trust Territories and for whoever was downtrodden or for the common people, PHIL was there to care for them.

So I am grateful and thankful for the opportunity that I have had to be exposed to the example that was set for the rest of us by PHIL BURTON.

My colleague, the gentleman from Washington, just mentioned the fact that we live in a society where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, and that was not the type of society that PHIL BURTON believed in; but I can tell you this, that all of us are richer in our lives because of the opportunity that we had to get to know our good friend, PHIL BURTON.

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I do wish to thank all of our colleagues for their thoughts and expressions on the passing of our great colleague, the gentleman from California, Mr. BURTON.

We each in our own way will be missing his great talents here in the House.

We wish Sala, their daughter, Joy, and PHIL's brothers, John and Robert, our deepest condolences and expressions of sympathy.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, if it is true that the measure of a person is what he leaves behind, then the legacy of PHIL BURTON is an impressive one indeed.

PHIL was a man who left his mark: On his district, on the State, on the institution in which he served for almost 20 years. There was never any question about what PHIL stood for. He was not a man who minced his words or even frequently held his tongue. He was a Democrat, a strong supporter of labor, and a believer in an active role for government. And although we frequently differed in our opinions, there was never any question as to the sincerity of his beliefs.

PHIL was a consummate politician; he knew where the votes lay and how to get them. But he also knew the smallest details of the legislation he handled and the parliamentary context in which it would be considered. His legerdemain was based as much on hard work as on his negotiating skills. If there was a fault in his armory of skills it was that he sometimes tried too hard.

PHIL's passing will leave a large gap. Whatever task he applied himself to, it was bound to be with the full force of his knowledge, his skills and his powerful personality. He was as formidable an ally as a foe. The people of California will long be in his debt for his role in the creation of the Channel Islands National Park and the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, to name but two efforts to which he lent a hand when it mattered. Indeed, PHIL was something of a natural force himself, and it comes as a shock to realize that he was mortal after all. PHIL inspired, indeed encouraged, an almost legendary view of himself; he knew that such a view would be useful in realizing his goals. Now that he is gone, the legend will remain, embodied in the many works in which he played a part.

To his wife, Sala, his daughter, mother, and other survivors, our deepest sympathy. His was indeed a memorable presence.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, it is no accident that the House worked on two bills today crafted by our late colleague Congressman PHIL BURTON just 2 days after his tragic death. For, if one thing characterized his career, it was his intense interest in writing legislation for the enduring benefit of his constituents and the Nation.

For our Nation's hungry, the food stamp program is his legacy.

For our Nation's poor, the supplemental security income program is the legacy.

For those of us who wanted a part of America set aside—for recreation or just for the natural beauty of the wilderness—literally dozens of national parks and wilderness areas is his legacy.

For the disenfranchised citizens of the territories of the United States, delegate representation in this Congress is his legacy.

A list of achievements like this would be sufficient for most Members of this body. The incredible thing PHIL BURTON is that this represents only a partial statement of his accomplishments during his distinguished career here.

Beyond his legislative abilities, PHIL devoted a great deal of his time to building the Democratic Party and making this institution more democratic. It meant a great deal to me, for example, that the moment the polls had closed in my first congressional primary in New York in 1974, that PHIL BURTON called to wish me well. And as a freshman Member of this Congress, I was pleased to work with him, and the other Members of the "Class of '74," in writing new rules for the House which opened new opportunities for the younger Members to become subcommittee chairmen and to play a greater role in the conduct of business in the House.

Of course, PHIL's passing is a terrible blow to those of us who were touched by his work, his unparalleled activism on behalf of the liberal agenda, and for his tireless efforts for our party.

For PHIL's brother, our former colleague John Burton, for his wife Sala and daughter Joy, we can only send our thoughts and prayers at this immensely difficult time.

In PHIL's honor, I would like to insert in the Record at this point, a poem by W. H. Auden, "Law Like Love".

We will miss him terribly.

LAW LIKE LOVE

Law, say the gardeners, is the sun,
Law is the one
All gardeners obey
To-morrow, yesterday, to-day.

Law is the wisdom of the old
The impotent grandfather shrilly scold;
The grandchildren put out a treble tongue,
Law is the senses of the young.

Law, says the priest with a priestly look,
Expounding to an unpriestly people,
Law is the words in my priestly book,
Law is my pulpit and my steeple.

Law, says the judge as he looks down his nose,
Speaking clearly and most severely,
Law is as I've told you before.

Law is as you know I suppose,
Law is but let me explain it once more,
Law is The Law.

Yet law-abiding scholars write:
Law is neither wrong nor right,
Law is only crimes
Punished by places and by times,
Law is the clothes men wear
Anytime, anywhere,
Law is Good-morning and Good-night.

Others say, Law is our Fate;
Others say, Law is our State;
Others say, others say
Law is no more
Law has gone away.

And always the loud angry crowd
Very angry and very loud
Law is We
And always the soft idiot softly Me.

If we, dear, know we know no more
Than they about the law,
If I no more than you
Know what we should and should not do
Except that all agree
Gladly or miserably
That the law is
And that all know this,
If therefore thinking it absurd
To identify Law with some other word,
Unlike so many men
I cannot say Law is again,
No more than they can we suppress
The universal wish to guess
Or slip out of our own position
Into an unconcerned condition.

Although I can at least confine
Your vanity and mine
To stating timidly
A timid similarity,
We shall boast anyway:
Like love I say.

Like love we don't know where or why
Like love we can't compel or fly
Like love we often weep
Like love we seldom keep.

—W. H. Auden.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, with a sense of deep regret and respect, I appreciate the opportunity to be able to pay tribute to the late Honorable Phil Burton.

Just over a month ago I was sworn into office as the Representative of the Seventh District of New York. Recognizing me as a new Member, Phil Burton came up to me the first day I was on the floor and offered his congratulations and assistance.

I did not have the honor of serving with him for long, yet, I am well aware of his outstanding legislative record.

As soon as he came to Congress in 1965, as a man of great vision and integrity, he was one of the first Members to oppose the war in Vietnam.

His tenure was distinguished by his successful efforts to provide for our most vulnerable citizens and marshal through wilderness and parks legislation. Many people may not recognize his name, yet across the country we benefit from his dedicated work on behalf of the needy and his concern for the preservation of our environment.

Although it is with great sadness that we honor this man, it can still be said that "the sun never sets on the Burton empire."

My heartfelt sympathy and sincerest condolences go out to his family.

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has lost one of the most vibrant and caring Members ever to have served in the U.S. House of Representatives, Phil Burton.

Phil instilled life, hope, and feeling into the legislative process. His causes were not always the most popular, but his belief in his causes and dedication to his principles made personal popularity unimportant to him.

His strong convictions and deep compassion for his fellow man blended with his unparalleled legislative prowess to earn Phil Burton a reputation for success in getting his programs enacted into law.

Phil gave himself fully to serving his constituents. He remained outspoken and took bold stands, for which they held him in the highest respect, returning him to office with resounding election victories.

Personally, I will miss Phil and I offer my deepest sympathies to his wife, Sala, and his family. But I also offer my condolences to the people of Phil Burton's district, because they lost one of the finest Representatives in Congress.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to my California colleague, Phil Burton. He was unquestionably one of the most influential Members of this House and will be missed by Members from both sides of the aisle.

Phil Burton's legislative record is legendary. He was the consummate legislator. His mastery of the legislative process and the details of the legislation before his committees was extraordinary. He was a tireless dealmaker and an effective and energetic organizer.

But Phil Burton will best be remembered for the strength of his character. As we all know, his commitment to his ideals was passionate and unfailing. But while I usually found myself in disagreement with his position on various issues, I never once doubted his sincerity or dedication.

I extend my condolences to his wife, Sala, his daughter Joy and his two grandchildren.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleagues from California, Mr. Edwards and Mrs. Boxer, for arranging this time today to pay our respects to our departed friend from the "city by the bay," the Honorable Phillip Burton.

As you may know, I have known Phil since our days in the California State Legislature and, over the years, he advanced many great causes. Of particular importance was his work in the area of protecting our environment from exploitation and promoting the preservation of our National Park System.

As many of us know, in 1978, Phil successfully guided through this Chamber the National Parks and Recreation Act. This landmark legislation continues to be the largest national parks bill in our Nation's history. Among other things, it created or enlarged 12 wilderness areas, 8 scenic rivers, 34 parks and 4 national trails. It stands as an excellent example of Phil's legislative fortitude and the keen ability to get things done.

I would like to pass along my deepest sympathy to his wife of many years, Sala. Sala was not only a devoted wife to Phil but she, on her own, became actively involved in many causes for the advancement of social and economic justice. It is easy for me to recall her fine work in California in behalf of Young Democrats. But, it should never be forgotten that she was devoted solely and totally to PHIL.

Mr. Speaker, I know you and my colleagues join my wife, Lee, and me in sending sincere condolences to PHIL's wife, Sala, and their daughter, Joy. His service to all Americans will always be remembered.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I learned of the passing of my friend, PHILLIP BURTON. Mr. BURTON's service in the House of Representatives will continue to be one of the bright spots in our country's legislative history. He was a good Member of the House and was known to be one of the best committee members in the House of Representatives. While serving in Congress, he was always interested in and fought for legislation pertaining to the poor, the elderly, and for education of our children. He was a man of courage and he was recognized as one of the able Members in the House of Representatives. His service to his people was during an unusual period in the history of our country. During his tenure as a Member of Congress, he was always willing to listen and this is a trait possessed by few people and one that is almost sacred.

His forward looking attitude and determination to give great service, gives all of us an inspiration to work harder in our years upon this Earth for worthy causes. His name will be known in all time to come at home and in the far corners of the Earth for his monumental works in behalf of representative government, which is the source and the protector of all human liberties in all nations where freedom prevails.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my deepest sympathy to his lovely wife and to the members of his family.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the tragic death of PHIL BURTON has removed from this House one of its most outstanding Members, a man who has made a significant mark and who would have accomplished much much more had he not been struck down prematurely.

Probably the most consistent theme in PHIL's many legislative accomplishments was his dedication to less privileged people of our society. He was always seeking to improve the lot of the poor, of minorities, of the common working people.

He also was dedicated to the preservation and improvement of the physical environment of our Nation. He was a devoted supporter of America's parks and our public lands and wilderness.

Those of us who were privileged to serve with him in the House of Representatives know also what a master he was of our parliamentary and political system. He knew how to get things done.

We will miss Phil Burton. I extend my deepest condolences to his wife Sala and daughter Joy.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, the untimely passing of our friend Phil Burton, of California, leaves a void in the House of Representatives, Phil was an able Member, and active Member, who dealt effectively with national problems, but never lost sight of the people of his district or State. Few, if any, Members knew the rules of the House or how to use them better than Phil Burton. His word was good, his voice strong, and his work effective.

I served with Phil during his entire service here and not only will the Congress miss him, but his State delegation, too, for he was in the forefront where California, with our largest delegation, could always count on Phil whether it was personal, committee assignment, or legislation affecting this great State, which has been likened to a miniature United States, with its varied regions, problems, people, and interests.

I shall miss Phil for many times his willingness to help and his courage made the difference in passing essential legislation.

I join with my colleagues in expressing regret and sorrow at Phil's untimely death.

To his family, we extend our deepest sympathy.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the death of our colleague Phil Burton leaves a void in this body that is not likely to be filled for some time. We will miss his passion, his wisdom, and his vision. Phil was truly the conscience of the Congress, and his passing is a loss to us all.

It is not only his colleagues in the Congress' who will sorely miss Phil Burton. There are many nameless Americans who will remember Phil, and who owe him a great deal. The recipients of black lung benefits, whose cause he championed; the disabled and elderly who could always count on Phil's aggressive support; the millions of Americans who visit the Nation's parks and wilderness areas every year—all of them will remember Phil Burton.

His commitment to social justice was matched only by his effectiveness. Phil's ability to translate ideals into action was remarkable. He was an outspoken advocate on behalf of the less fortunate members of our society, a courageous crusader for environmental protection, and a powerful legislator who fought for the rights of the powerless.

The record that he leaves behind will give Phil a place in history as well as a sort of immortality. His legacy to the Congress is what he achieved for others. One can honestly say of Phil Burton what I consider to be the highest tribute a public servant can be paid—he leaves this world a better place than he found it.

Mr. LEHMAN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, when I learned that Phil Burton had died, I felt shock and sudden grief at this great loss. I wondered if anyone could ever take the place of Phil Burton in this Congress.

He had all the right issues and all the right instincts. He worked with total commitment, with a zeal that brought to mind the image of a man with "fire in his belly."

There are others in Congress who are right on the issues, who are loyal Democrats and good solid Americans. We have other hard workers, but there is no one left who can combine all these qualities with the fervor of a Phil Burton in his commitment to our best causes.

Among Phil's many achievements was the opening up of the Democratic Caucus. He was also a leader in the fight to halt American involvement in the Vietnam war. He devoted his boundless energy to serving the needs of humanity, particularly the needs of those who are poor and without political power. He managed to encompass both toughness and tenderness in his concern for these people.

Mr. Speaker, I shall miss Phil Burton, and the Congress will be a lesser place without him.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am saddened by our loss of Phil Burton. Since his election to the Congress in a special election in 1964, Congressman Burton has played a large role here and has had a major influence on the House of Representatives and the Nation. He was intelligent, he was tough, he worked hard for what he believed in, and he did an outstanding job fighting for what he thought was right and representing the people of San Francisco in the House.

Congressman Burton had a reputation as a fighter and it was well deserved. When he decided on a course of action he was fully committed. He was a great leader in many battles over the years and was an effective spokesman for his side of the debate.

Phil and I often disagreed on important matters of public policy and many were the times we were on opposite sides of the issue. There were many times we stood together too, and always Congressman Burton was a formidable and persuasive Member of this body who battled hard for his position.

The people of his district have lost a great Representative and this House has lost one of its leaders.

I want to extend my deep sympathy to Phil's wife, Sala, and to all the members of the bereaved family.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, Phillip Burton came to the well of the House on February 18, 1964, and took his oath as a Member of the 88th Congress.

It did not take long for seasoned House-watchers to discover that they had a comer in their midst. And they were right.

Phil took to the House like a duck to water. He found a home here. He gloried in the strategy and in the organizing and maneuvering that attend great legislative events. He had a natural instinct for locating the fulcrum of power. And he learned to position himself there to the advantage of those things in which he was interested.

Even as a freshman Member, Phil Burton learned the highways and byways of Congress better than many do in a decade. He knew where the bases were, and he was tireless in getting to them first. He was a master of rules and procedure, and he knew how to use that knowledge effectively.

"Ask Phil" soon became the automatic reflex to those engaged in the plotting of strategy.

Phil and I served together on the Committee on Education and Labor for more than 19 years. I knew him to be a tremendously resourceful and effective ally, just as others were unfortunate enough to know him as a formidable and relentless foe.

Not everyone would call Phil a man of the people. But I think he was assuredly a man for the people.

His constituency extended far beyond his San Francisco district. It included all those Americans who are old and sick and poor; all those who are the victims of injustice; all those who are denied the full rights of citizen; and those who lack the power to help themselves.

It was for them that he wielded the substantial power he acquired as a Member of this House. And it is they who are the beneficiaries of his service here.

He could be like a cyclone—full of thunder and bluster and turbulent tossing about. And he could be like a spring day, full of charm and warmth and heady sunshine.

By a combination of the two, he established himself as a presence in the House and he was able to accomplish much during his time here.

Early in his career, he described himself as a "Fighting Liberal." He was a fighter—let no man doubt that. But the battles were not for himself, but for that vision of America which he carried in his head.

Now his battle is over, the thunder and the bluster stilled. But the cause remains, and those of us who believe in the things he believed in must carry on the work, knowing that somewhere beyond the bounds of time and place the restless spirit of PHILLIP BURTON is urging us on.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened to learn of the death of PHIL BURTON. The loss suffered by his family and by the people of California is one which is shared by the Members of this House and the people of our country.

I had the privilege of serving in the House for all of PHIL BURTON's congressional career. I knew him to be a man of tremendous energy who was able to direct that energy toward a variety of legislative pursuits with a skill that has rarely been matched in this institution. He was a forceful and effective advocate for the interests of those without the ability or the means to represent themselves. His tireless labor on their behalf was a result of his commitment to the promotion of social justice. The legislative record he leaves is a tribute to the strength of that commitment and to the ways in which government can act for the benefit of all its citizens.

PHIL BURTON's absence will be felt in the House of Representatives. His ability, his intelligence, and his capacity for productive work will not be easily replaced. Those qualities won him the respect of his colleagues and they are the attributes for which he will be remembered.

I want to express my sympathies to PHIL's wife and all the members of the Burton family.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, along with his family I was extremely saddened to learn of the untimely death of one of my dearest friends in the U.S. Congress, PHIL BURTON. Being from North Carolina and of course, he being from the great State of California, we had little or nothing in common as far as it relates to legislation. Yet, on the other hand, it was amazing the number of times that we voted alike. Representing the tobacco interests, I was always extremely grateful whenever the tobacco program was threatened through proposed legislation, that he would rise to his feet on the House floor and defend the tobacco program as being an asset to the farmers of the South, and in so doing, helped us to secure enough votes to preserve the program in its present form. For this, I will always be grateful.

But beyond that, my greatest loss is that of personal friendship, of light conversation in the cloakroom as well as serious conversation concerning legislation. I am sure that his loss is a severe blow to the State of California to say nothing of the other 49 States; but on a more personal note, I shall miss him more than words can express.

And to his family and those who must carry on in his place, I offer my condolences and sympathies and join with them in a feeling of sorrow and loss.

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, the proudest tribute to our late colleague, PHIL BURTON, is that whether you agreed or disagreed with his position on an issue, you always respected his legislative skills. He was a most dedicated public servant whose actions will be a permanent part of the history of the House of Representatives.

PHIL BURTON loved politics. He never tired of it. He constantly practiced it. I remember during my first term in Congress, I was returning with the Armed Services Committee from a trip to the Middle East. Our last stop was in Madrid on the way home to the United States. A reception was given and PHIL BURTON was there as part of another congressional delegation. PHIL took me aside and spent the whole evening talking about politics and procedures in the House of Representatives. He truly loved this institution.

PHIL BURTON also loved the combat and competition of politics. Putting coalitions together to advance his own issues or to make the legislative process in general work consumed him.

Although PHIL and I were rarely on the same side of an issue, I always respected his skill and genuine commitment to public service. He will be missed as a positive force in the debate in the House. To his most capable and supporting wife, Sala, our family extends our sincere sympathies.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, a sense of shock and disbelief looms over this House with the sudden death of our brother and friend Phil Burton. How does one react when a person of such stature—such presences—such life and vitality is abruptly taken from us. We react predictably with deep sorrow and grief—with a sense of profound loss. Yet we must also act with a sense of gratitude in having the distinct and unique pleasure of having known this magnificent man.

My association with Phil Burton was an especially rewarding one. We served together for the past 14 years on the House Education and Labor Committee. Phil was in many ways my mentor in terms of being a leader and friend of organized labor and the working man. Phil did not merely associate with causes—he plunged into crusades on behalf of fundamental issues on behalf of the working men and women of this Nation. His name was associated with some of the landmark bills of this generation, ranging from minimum wage to pension reform to occupational health and safety. Phil gave of himself in the fullest sense of the word when he was allied with you. The same could be said when he was an adversary. You always knew where Phil Burton stood and why.

Phil Burton was a giant in both the literal and figurative sense. He commanded attention which then once he acquired he converted into respect. In the 19 years he served the people of California and the Nation—he became a legend in this body and his contributions to this House to its legislative processes to the betterment of life for millions in this Nation will endure for years to come.

Phil Burton was a liberal without any reservations. Yet for Phil Burton liberalism was not simply an ideology—it was a commitment. It was based on striving to rectify abuses and injustices wherever they existed. It was based on an attitude that government does have a responsibility to help those of its citizens who are disadvantaged. More importantly it was based on an old-fashioned desire to produce for the good of people.

I would be less than candid—and would do less than justice to Phil's memory were I not to admit to having one major regret, a regret which continually plagues me. On the one occasion when Phil called upon me—I did not respond when I should have. Others in this body will list the many accomplishments of Phil Burton. I choose to instead pay tribute to the man we knew and respected. A man who was sought out by his colleagues—a man who provided sound counsel to his colleagues. A man who could charm, cajole, even coerce. A man of compassion and competence. A man who represented the very best of what we are supposed to be in this House. PHIL BURTON is a man who left us far too soon but left us with things we will never forget. To his widow Sala I express my deep and sincere condolences an offer the solace that PHIL was a man who will be remembered for years to come by those of us who had the honor to know him.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, the death of our colleague, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON, is a great loss which will be felt by many Americans.

Throughout his career, PHIL has had a most significant impact on the development of national policy and on the workings of this House.

For many younger Members, PHIL was a wise counselor. An experienced source of the congressional process, PHIL did not hesitate sharing his wisdom with others. His guidance has been and will continue to be an invaluable assistance for many of us and for Congress. We will all miss that guidance and PHIL's unique abilities to achieve legislative goals.

The many Americans who benefited from his commitment and hard work will most miss PHILLIP BURTON's presence in Congress. A staunch defender of the downtrodden, PHIL tirelessly worked hours on end to insure that the poor, minorities, and working men and women had a voice in Congress. Whether it be food stamps, labor, or the environment, PHIL BURTON spoke out and acted for what was right. He sought policies that were balanced, that met our needs today, and considered the needs of future generations.

We all have memories of PHIL in action, whether it was his evening legislative caucuses or his ability to pass the same legislation over and over until the Senate agreed. I personally was fortunate to work closely with PHIL on the Interior Committee, the DSG executive committee and on legislation vital to Minnesota, the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness Act. As chairman of the Interior Parks Committee, PHIL was in large part responsible for the adoption of this important legislation. The protection of the SBWCA from logging, mining and overuse, and its continued high level of visitor participation is a lasting testament of the legislative handiwork created by Congressman BURTON.

As a young, new Member, I learned many things by working with Phil Burton on the BWCA. The most lasting lesson was the value of hard work. As Congressman Burton often said, "We may not have as much money or as many resources, but we will win because we work harder and are totally committed to our goals."

Mr. Speaker, Phillip Burton was a rare individual. His skills, his commitment, and hard work certainly made Phillip Burton stand out in this body. We always expected so much of Phil Burton, no doubt too much, for indeed his success as a national policymaker, as a leader and champion of the underprivileged extracted a heavy price. Phil Burton, however, performed his tasks with a joy, with a dedication focused on the achievement, the good that flowed to the American people rather than his personal sacrifice so evident to all of us who were honored to know him.

Mr. Speaker, my sincere sympathy to Sala Burton, Phillip's devoted spouse and strong ally, and his family, friends, and constituents. I share your sorrow. But more importantly, we all share and benefit from the good example and works of our friend and colleague, Phil Burton.

At this time, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention the thoughts of a leading Minnesota environmentalist as just one example of the spirit and humanity and dedication engendered by the contributions of Congressman Phillip Burton.

A Note of Appreciation in Memory of U.S. Representative Phillip Burton

The people of the United States have lost a great champion with the passing of Rep. Phillip Burton of California. The entire Nation, and especially the citizens of my State of Minnesota owe a special tribute to Phillip Burton's memory for his role as chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs in passing the 1978 Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness Act (Public Law 95–495). This act was a giant step forward in the 70–year effort to protect our Nation's only lakeland canoe country wilderness from logging, roadbuilding, mining, and incompatible forms of mechanized recreational use.

I know from many hours of work directly with Phil Burton and his staff how crucial his role was in perfecting this legislation and in achieving its final enactment. The Boundary Waters bill was only one of several such vital laws that Phil was working on in 1977 and 1978 while I was in Washington and in frequent contact with him. One evening while working with several of us on the details of the Boundary Waters bill Phil said to us * * * "you know, this business of protecting unspoiled places is kind of like a religion to me * * * we really only have about 10 years left to save places like this * * * and I am going to do all that I can to see that it happens before it is too late."

He often expressed a similar commitment to solving the economic and social problems of the poor, the underprivileged and the ordinary working people of America.

Phil Burton was one of those unusual politicians who understood his own effectiveness as a legislator and who knew just how he wanted to use that potential to promote the best interests of our Nation. He knew his fellow legislators and the workings of the House like few others of his time, and he applied his masterful political skills to help move the Nation's agenda in the right direction. His untimely death is a loss to us all in terms of potential future accomplishments that now can never be realized.

I know that I speak for thousands of others across our country in delivering this final note of appreciation for Phil Burton's role in protecting the magnificent Wilderness of Minnesota's Canoe Country. Its shining lakes, with their fleets of islands fading into the sunset, its rushing streams that still whisper the voices of Indians and voyageurs of long ago, its rugged pine-clad ridges that still echo the cry of the loon and faraway howl of the timber wolf, its virgin forests that solace present-day canoeists seeking refuge from our harried industrial world—all these will be there for future generations to appreciate because Phil Burton and his colleagues cared enough to give this precious area the legal protection it so desperately needed. We have not forgotten, Phil! Your memory lives on in our hearts. And your monuments are the parks and wildlands of America!

In loving memory,

Miron L. Heinselman,
Former Chairman, Friends of the Boundary Waters Wilderness, St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. DYSON. Mr. Speaker, it is a great loss that so many of us in Congress, in the Fifth Congressional District of California, and across this Nation feel, learning that our friend, Phillip Burton, has departed this physical world. In the event of the death of such a great, outstanding and honorable man as Phil Burton, we are naturally left with emotions of sadness. Mourning his untimely death is, of course, befiting. Yet, in conjunction with mourning the loss of such a dynamic and inspiring man, we take great comfort and reassurance in reflecting upon the remarkable achievements of our friend.

Reflecting upon this one man's life, and now his death, six words come to mine. "Finis coronat opus"—the end crowns the work—are the first three. Phil Burton's death is the consummation of all his remarkable lifetime accomplishments. Such accomplishments are aplenty, and shall long be remembered by so many.

The son of a doctor, Phil Burton was born June 1, 1926, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Before World War II he moved to California. After a military career in the Navy during World War II, and the Air Force during the Korean war, as well as putting himself through law school at night, he entered politics by making his first campaign bid for the California Assembly, although unsuccessfully, at the age of 28. He never stopped campaigning in his 56 years of life. In 1956, he began the first term of the 8-year assemblyman career. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1963. Since then, he faithfully served his Fifth District constituency for nearly two decades.

With a reputation of brilliance, passion, and achievement, PHIL BURTON was sometimes dubbed "the San Francisco version of Lyndon B. Johnson." He was a legislator whose foresight and leadership qualities came naturally and in reserves of abundancy. Not only was he gifted with the political skills of getting things accomplished, he legislated with such brilliance and dexterity that without him, landmark legislation would have been left undone.

It was not exclusively leadership which marked PHIL BURTON as an outstanding and dynamic legislator. Yes, leadership was his forte. Yet, equally instrumental was his keen desire to learn. Avoiding routine, he thrived on and relished new challenges. He openly embraced new opportunities of involvement for his benefit, those of his constituents, and countless others. Even after the political setback of losing a bid for House majority leader in 1976 by one vote, he rebounded with new energy and vigor by entering upon one of his most productive legislative crusades, the culmination of which became the largest single parks bill in the history of the United States. Events in his life such as these, demonstrate his readiness to embark upon new initiatives and ventures, as well as his resolve through effective leadership to assure achievement in these initiatives. It is this remarkable ability to blend and balance effective leadership and a commitment to continued learning that so clearly characterized PHIL BURTON.

"No one knows what he can do till he tries" is a much mentioned maxim over thousands of years old. Together, his quest for mastery and his capacity for leadership allowed PHIL BURTON the opportunity to fully appreciate what he could do. On virtually all matters he undertook, he did not refrain from trying his fullest—whenever, wherever, however, and with whomever possible. His efforts were not in vain either. It was because of his consistent efforts on numerous occasions, that he was able to produce significant achievements. An illustrative case in point would be the successful reforms in the House committee and subcommittee system he managed as chairman of the Democratic Caucus in 1975 and 1976.

Phil Burton was a remarkable man, successful in the roles of husband, father, lawyer, assemblyman, legislator, and Representative to hundreds of thousands of constituents. In each and every one of these capacities—individually and in concert—he excelled and received the love, respect, and admiration he so deservedly achieved. Yet, it is likely his most memorable achievement will be the knowledge that this man masterfully accomplished so much of what he indeed set out to do. His life's work was one crowned with perpetual learning, effective leadership, and lasting accomplishments. Finis coronat opus. In reminiscence, we will forever remember the extraordinary life and achievements of Phil Burton. The last three words: "Requiescat in pace". Rest in peace.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, San Francisco, Calif., and the Nation suffered a grievous loss on Sunday with the passing of Congressman Phil Burton. A longtime colleague of mine in the California Legislature and here in Congress, Phil held high the banner of service to the needy, the underprivileged and the underrepresented. He was gruff and loud but no one in this House cared more deeply about the people he served. Phil's work on behalf of social, racial, and economic justice will serve as a glowing legacy to the people of this Nation.

His efforts in favor of environmental protection, nutritional assistance, protections for working men and women and a secure retirement for the Nation's elderly have made him a paragon of Government compassion and concern. The people of San Francisco honored him with resounding support in all of his election runs. The State of California is eternally in his debt for his preservation of our wilderness areas, and the men and women of this country who work for a living owe much in the way of health, safety, and wage protection to Phil's dedication.

Phil and I traveled many roads together in our common pursuit of equal rights and social justice. None was more selfless and noble than in the early 1960's when we joined hands with civil rights workers in long night meetings in the Mississippi Delta to help voter registration drives. This was typical of Phil Burton: his personal deeds and commitments were way ahead of general acceptance of those basic principles for which he fought. Today we honor him in words. Let our greatest honor to Phil Burton be a redoubled effort to insure justice for all, the cause to which this great man dedicated his life, and literally gave himself.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of the Honorable Phil Burton of California, America has lost a remarkable legislator, and I have lost a friend. Phil worked hard serving his country through the causes he believed in. His concern for the downtrodden and the elderly and his commitment to the protection of our environment come to mind as hallmarks of his service in the House. He was an honorable colleague, astute and vigorous in the pursuit of the goals he had for our country, loyal to his friends, and dedicated to his constituents. I will genuinely miss this strong, able, and witty colleague.

Phil Burton's family deserves our deepest sympathy, particularly his wife and daughter, and his brother John, who also served with us until last year. They can take consolation, however, in the many accomplishments of this good man.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, along with other Members of the House I was shocked to learn yesterday about the death of the Honorable Phillip Burton who died suddenly Sunday in his beloved San Francisco.

The passing of this vivid personality from the political scene will leave a void in this House not easily filled. Phil Burton made his presence known wherever he happened to be and he was tireless in fighting for the causes that he believed in. In the 19 years he and I served together in this body, we became good friends who tended to support the same causes through the years and I cherished his friendship as well as his political astuteness.

And there was no one who served in this House during the years I have been here, who was more of a natural politician than was Phil. He thrived on the political process and he would have rathered put coalitions together then become a rich man. He was a tenacious and bitter enemy as well as a supportive and dogged seeker of votes. While other men slept, Phil Burton was preparing an assault on behalf of his causes, and they were always good liberal causes like the disadvantaged, the poor, the minorities, and the other have-nots of our land. He was one of the strongest advocates for our environment and National Park System.

Whether you were with him or against him, you always knew where Phil Burton stood. He spoke his mind to those who would listen and that candidness probably lost him the one prize he valued most in this House, a leadership post. As you recall, he lost the electon for majority leader 7 years ago, by a single vote and that loss attributed primarily to his aggressiveness. That may or may not have been the reason but it was that aggressiveness that made Phil Burton the brilliant political tactician that he was. Phil Burton exploded upon the political scene in California in the 1950's and he performed brilliantly on the local, State, and national scene from that point on. At his death, Phil Burton was the acknowledged political power figure in California and the acknowledged leader of that diverse congressional delegation.

Phil Burton is going to be remembered for his political abilities and the causes he pushed so well during two decades in the House of Representatives. But there was another side to Phil that few people outside of his colleagues ever had a chance to see. He was a devoted family man and his wife, Sala, and his daughter, Joy, were the foundation so necessary for him. His brother, John, who until last year served in this Congress with him, was Phil Burton's pride and joy. Some would say that Phil took more pleasure in John's success than he did in his own. He was also a great practical joker in his earlier years and he loved to get together with some of his colleagues after the day's session for the camaraderie. He could also be very gentle as only big and burly men can be gentle.

I mourn his passing both professionally and personally, a feeling I am sure I share with all of my colleagues. My sympathies go to his wife and his family.

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the commentators say that Phil Burton's design for the congressional reapportionment of California has had great impact on this body, but his death will change us in ways that will be more far reaching.

While Phil Burton sat, every coal miner in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, and Kentucky had two Members of the House working for his interests—his own, and Mr. Burton.

Every man who earned his bread by the sweat of his brow had two—his own, and Mr. Burton's.

And every family with a young person to educate and limited resources has two—his own, and Mr. Burton.

Wherever you saw people struggling to make a better life, you could almost count on finding the hand of Mr. Burton at work trying to give them a lift.

I am sure that tears were shed and throats went tight in the coalfields of Appalachia, just as they did here, on hearing word of his death. His leadership and dedication in the cause of a good coal mine safety act and black lung compensation earned him respect in these regions. Thousands of miners and miners' widows and the children of miners were delivered long overdue benefits because of his drive and compassion.

Although he never mined coal and had no coal miners in his district, his understanding of their plight made him one of the most revered Members of Congress in the mining regions.

I met Mr. BURTON when I was appointed to the Education and Labor Committee in 1968 as a new Congressman, and he was immediately helpful to me as a new Member.

A few months later I gained a deeper respect when we worked together in passing the Coal Mine Safety Act. This respect grew as we worked on matters such as black lung compensation, ERISA, basic educational opportunity grants and the things that were meant to help people make a better life.

His first test was whether a proposal was good for a majority of the people, and, if it was, then it had a tireless supporter.

Mr. BURTON truly was a citizen's Congressman, and every citizen of the United States who has been working to build a better place in life has lost a Representative.

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with great sadness in my heart to mourn the loss of our colleague and my personal good friend PHIL BURTON.

I am literally stunned by the news of PHIL's sudden and completely unexpected death. If there was anyone among us who was known for his vigor and love of life, it was PHIL BURTON.

The people of the Fifth District of California, as well as all Americans, have lost a great leader and devoted public servant in PHIL BURTON.

His life was devoted to meeting the needs of the people of our great Nation. But he was especially the champion of the poor, the elderly, and the disabled.

In his leadership role on the Education and Labor Committee, PHIL BURTON worked diligently to insure the passage of landmark legislation that would extend black lung benefits, raise the minimum wage and welfare benefits for the aged and disabled, and establish a cost of living escalator for social security recipients.

Just prior to his untimely death, PHIL was locked in a battle to prevent the enactment of a reduced minimum wage for teenagers. He had warned that any such attempt, which he viewed as a violation of the civil rights of poor young blacks, would be met by his demand for an increase in the basic minimum wage itself.

In his role as chairman of the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee, Phil Burton was the national leader in efforts to insure that the pension rights of all Americans would be protected.

A giant step in that direction was his successful effort in securing passage of legislation to strengthen the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation, guaranteeing that benefits earned by workers would be there when they retired.

Phil Burton was also one of the greatest environmentalists this Nation has ever known. As the ranking Democrat on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, he secured passage of a massive parks bill authorizing $1.2 billion for more than 100 parks and preservation projects in 44 States. It was the largest single parks bill in U.S. history.

Congressman Phil Burton was many things to many people. He was never one to sit quietly on the sidelines. If there was an issue he felt deeply about, Phil dived into it with all guns blazing.

His dedication and compassion will be sorely missed as we tackle the tough issues that will come before this body.

I am proud to have called him my friend.

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, Phillip Burton's sudden passing left many of us numb. It brings to us, at times such as this, the fact that we are truly a family of legislators and that a Member of our family is gone. While we deal every day in the polemical exercise of political philosophies, the bond that exists between each of us is one which is very real indeed.

Phil Burton's presence was one which filled his colleagues with awareness. He was a special breed, a man among men. Although we did not always agree politically, Phil Burton was a man who stood tall in the strength of his convictions and maintained the courage of his beliefs.

As I look out my window and see the flags at half-mast atop the Capitol, I feel a deep sense of loss; an awareness that I have known a very unique individual. My heart goes out to his family, his friends, and all who considered Phil Burton a close associate.

May God grant him peace. Well done, good and faithful servant.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, all of us in Congress experienced a great shock in learning of the death of our able and beloved colleague Phil Burton. He was one of the real leaders in Congress, courageous, persistent, able, and respected. This country is the better for his many achievements, particularly in the field of national parks, wildlife, and wilderness preservation. But his able hand and persuasion is to be found in widely diverse legislation. We will all certainly greatly miss him.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues today in paying tribute to PHILLIP BURTON—a great legislator and a truly outstanding man of our time.

In his 22 years in politics, PHIL BURTON championed a myriad of liberal causes. Among his better known accomplishments are the National Parks bill which provided "national parks for everyone" by creating and expanding 34 parks, 12 wilderness areas, 8 rivers, and 4 national trails; the supplemental security income program which today provides aid to more than 4 million blind and disabled individuals; the black lung compensation program; legislation to make striking miners eligible for food stamps; and legislation increasing the minimum wage from $2.30 to $3.35 per hour. PHIL BURTON also achieved national recognition for his role in the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and his strong opposition to the Vietnam war.

As a freshman Member of Congress, I did not have the privilege of the same longstanding personal and professional relationship with PHIL BURTON as have some of my colleagues. Nevertheless, I recognized and admired him as a distinctive, courageous, outspoken, and forceful presence on the floor of the House, as well as a man whose extraordinary political savvy, talent for creating powerful political alliances, and personality made him an imposing force both as an ally and as a foe.

Most of us remember him most recently as having turned his attention to efforts to help defeat the Reagan administration's plan to change key labor laws and as a consistent champion of those most in need—the poor, the elderly, minorities, and the disabled. He once said himself that "I'll never fail to fight for social, racial, and economic justice as long as I can draw a breath".

PHIL BURTON was a man who lived to see his vision translated into positive, concrete action. He was proud of the fact that despite defeats he never gave up fighting and working for the causes he believed in.

PHILLIP BURTON's death is a tragedy. With his passing, the Congress and the country has lost not only an outstanding and effective legislator, but a legislator who had the courage and ability to look beyond his own political self-interest to do what he believed was right, and to help create a better life for all our citizens and especially those most in need. This House, and this country has lost a truly great man.

Ms. FERRARO. Mr. Speaker, PHIL BURTON was a powerful, influential, stubborn, principled, aggressive, combative personality. His commitment to his ideals left little room for compromise, and even less for entering popularity contests, but I thought he was absolutely terrific. He was an extremely effective legislator, with a list of accomplishments rarely matched. Those who are better off today—whose lives are better today—because of PHIL BURTON's efforts include coal miners suffering from black lung, working people threatened by occupational hazards, and millions of economically disadvantaged Americans who receive Federal welfare benefits. And of course, our magnificent system of national parks and wilderness areas would not exist in its current form were it not for his work.

PHIL was able to accomplish all this and more because of a special talent for building coalitions. What he could do better than almost anybody else was show Members that they had an interest in backing a proposal when that interest was not apparent. He got the job done, and he made things better, which is what we are all trying to do here. I will miss him, and the House and the Nation will miss his ability. My deepest sympathies and my prayers are with his wife Sala, and to all the members of his family.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, as a fellow member of the House Education and Labor Committee, PHIL always had strong convictions and opinions, backed up by some very serious research.

One of the finest qualities a human can possess is that of always being true to your word, and PHIL exemplified this trait.

The Congress has lost a very important Member.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in lamenting the loss of Representative PHIL BURTON, who has left a lasting imprint upon this institution and the laws of this country.

For the past 2 months, I have served as the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, which PHIL chaired. While we did not see eye to eye on a number of issues, I quickly discovered that he was greatly interested in maintaining a good working relationship between the majority and the minority. He has maintained a particularly strong record of bipartisanship in the complex and delicate area of pension law reform. This is an area that is in desperate need of attention by the 98th Congress and his leadership in obtaining solutions to the difficult problems in the pension laws will be sorely missed.

The versatility of the man and the breadth of the areas in which he has left an impact will long be remembered: The environment, foreign policy, the park system, the American territorial system, programs for the poor and disadvantaged, and all aspects of American labor law. I had looked forward to drawing upon and learning from his solid expertise in this last category and I will always regret that my association with him in this area was so unfortunately brief.

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, no Member of this body who encountered PHIL BURTON was indifferent to him. That in itself is a tremendous legacy for a man to leave. The passing of PHIL BURTON is significant, because he was a significant individual. Both those who agreed with him and those who disagreed with him, felt his mark on most of the major legislative battles in this House for long periods of time.

Although throughout my service in this House I was more often than not on the other side from PHIL during most of these battles, I had to admire his ability, intellect, and genuine concern for the causes which he championed.

He understood his constituency, he understood this House and how it operates, and he understood his philosophy. He was as articulate and capable in promoting his beliefs as any Member who ever served. The space left by his passing will not be filled.

Having served with him for nearly 15 years on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I am but one of every member of that committee who can attest to the fact that in the art of politics, PHIL BURTON was a master artist. There is monumental legislation in the law books today that would not be there but for the ability of PHIL BURTON.

The finality of death sets aside differences and emphasizes agreement. We can all agree that PHIL was a colorful and influential leader of this House of Representatives. He performed his job well. We will be aware of his absence. We will miss his presence.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, when I first ran for Congress in 1972, I did not have enormous backing from the party officials. The local polls indicated I was wasting my time running, and that my candidacy was divisive. Even after I won the Democratic primary, there was no great rush to my side. It was a rather small bandwagon.

I had an equally difficult time with the national Democrats and the groups that traditionally support Democratic candidates. The one exception was PHIL BURTON.

PHIL came out to Denver for me and gave my campaign a real boost. His affection for the poor and the disadvantaged extended to candidates. He believed in me and that was enough.

In 1972, I was the only Democrat to defeat a Republican incumbent, and PHIL BURTON was a part of that victory.

Mr. SUNIA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with great difficulty to speak to the memory of a great man and a dear friend. Governor Peter Tali Coleman of American Samoa has asked that I convey to Sala and her daughter Joy, and to you sir, and the Members of this House the deep sorrow of the people of American Samoa at the passing of PHIL BURTON. American Samoa has never known a greater friend in Congress. Indeed, PHIL BURTON served the territories as well as he did his own constituents in San Francisco. And like everything else he did—he gave it his all.

Sala told me yesterday that I was one of the last persons to meet at length with PHIL. The purpose of that meeting was to consider ways to help the territory in its current fiscal difficulties. Let me report to you briefly what PHIL told me—words I can never forget:

> Fofo, your Governor is a Republican, you are a Democrat. I hope you will not be tempted to make political gains out of the Governor's difficulties. Your job is to help your people—and help the Governor find ways to solve the problem. If you do otherwise, you may make brief gains, but in the long run, you will not be able to live with yourself.

And in the presence of his wife Sala and an assistant, Jeff Farrow, he proceeded to lay out a grand plan to bring the territory out of its present fiscal dilemma, and to take a steady course for the future.

PHIL BURTON came to American Samoa once—but the benefits of his many actions on our behalf will live in the island for all times. As you know, Mr. Speaker, PHIL was the author of the legislation which created the very seat I occupy today. He was a prime mover of the efforts to elect our Governor and we do have an elected Governor today. Year in and year out, he was the target of territorial requests for assistance. To record each of those actions would add pages to this Record.

How do you lament a great man? In the culture of the Samoan people, that is the responsibility of the orators who are the keepers of tradition. They would say that the clouds have passed and a spear has left a warrior's hand: nobles return to the heavens and realms are left behind.

May I close with a short true story on PHIL. After sponsoring the legislation which created American Samoa's seat in Congress, PHIL encouraged and supported the candidacy of a young Samoan lawyer who was then working for him in his Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs. With PHIL's reputation in the territories, and the kind of adversary PHIL always was, you can appreciate my task in getting here.

As I was saying my farewells before coming to Washington, my father gave me the only advice he has given me during my entire political career. He asked me to look up this man named PHIL BURTON, and to try to make friends with him.

I did not need to do that, for the first person who called to congratulate and offer his help was none other than PHIL BURTON. What a man. What a mind. What a loss.

Robert Louis Stevenson who lies buried in Samoa must have loved the islands the way PHIL did. And may I close with those immortal words of the lover of the islands and its people:

> Here he lies where he longs to be,
> Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
> And the hunter home from the hills.

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Speaker, PHIL BURTON made this Nation a better place to live. He truly was a representative of the people, not the rich and powerful, but those with needs.

Long a friend of labor, PHIL succeeded in raising the minimum wage, increasing social security benefits, and countless other improvements in our standard of living.

As chairman of the Parks Subcommittee during the 95th and 96th Congresses, PHIL's achievements are unsurpassed. He championed the cause of Redwoods National Park, and brought to this country more than 30 other national parks during his tenure.

Dale Crane, who worked closely with PHIL as staff for the Interior Committee and was a close friend, said of him that "his commitment matched his idealism. He never lost sight of trying to do the right thing."

This body has known few men of the likes of PHIL BURTON. He will be sorely missed. As we consider measures to protect our environment in the future, that will be the time to remember PHIL and the commitment he gave to his colleagues and country.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues in paying tribute today to the late PHILLIP BURTON of California.

Though PHIL's political philosophy differed from my own, I can say that I had a great respect for him. If PHIL BURTON told you he was going to do something pertaining to a legislative matter, you could depend on his word. That is something you could always count on.

There is no doubt that PHIL BURTON was a strong leader and he was an effective Representative for his constituents in San Francisco.

He will surely be missed by his colleagues here in the 98th Congress.

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, I join in this special order to honor our late colleague, Congressman PHIL BURTON of California, who passed away last Sunday.

Future freshman Members of Congress will unfortunately be denied the charming and helpful privilege that many in my generation had of being welcomed to this body by PHIL BURTON in the unique and helpful way he was in the habit of doing. Among the many things that PHIL BURTON would do was to call new Members to assist them in the transition to new and awesome public responsibilities.

The cause of liberalism has lost a valiant champion who provided liberal leadership. PHIL BURTON would not retreat, however beleaguered the title he wore became. PHIL BURTON stood tall when others shrank.

The cause of the disinherited, whether blacks in our society generally, residents of the District of Columbia in particular, or others struggling for their human rights—women and Hispanics, and others—has lost an effective and consistent advocate. PHIL BURTON knew the loneliness of the long-distance runner.

Ms. FIEDLER. Mr. Speaker, it is always hard for us when one of our colleagues passes away. And, it is harder still when the colleague is one who made such a mark on this body.

PHIL BURTON was such a man. This House and its processes were his life. And, he breathed that life into many of the laws we have today.

While our political philosophies differed, no one of any persuasion could say that PHIL BURTON did not love our country and tried to make it better.

His entire public career—spanning nearly 30 years—was spent trying to help people in the way that fit his philosophy and his style.

His loss will be felt by our State and our Nation for many years to come. His wife Sala and the rest of his family will feel that loss even more keenly than we will. But, she and we will know that the causes for which he dedicated his life will bear his mark for many years to come.

Mr. HEFTEL of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to summarize in a few sentences the impact that PHIL BURTON had on my life. I respected and admired PHIL. He was a source of inspiration and guidance to me.

PHIL BURTON was one of the great legislators of our time. His contributions to the Nation will remain indelibly in our policies and in our hearts. I feel fortunate to have worked with and learned from this distinguished friend.

PHIL was a strong and committed partner to my State of Hawaii and to the Pacific Basin. His leadership and compassion won him the respect of Pacific islanders. His accomplishments touched the lives of the people of the Pacific for which we will always be grateful.

PHIL's talents as a legislator were unsurpassed. He was a legend in his own time. Always more concerned about others than himself, PHIL never thought twice about putting himself in jeopardy to assist a colleague. It is rare that a selfless, committed legislator like PHIL BURTON comes along. We will miss him.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to our late colleague, PHILLIP BURTON of California. Like my colleagues, I was saddened and shocked by the news of his death. Surely, his passing removes from the Congress, one of the most effective Members of this body. In his dedication to the causes in which he believed, in his relentless determination to accomplish his goals, in his mastery of legislative skills, in his understanding and application of the art of compromise, PHIL BURTON had no peer here in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The electoral process—the necessity each has of running for and being elected to office each 2 years—inevitably tends to temper and moderate our views and certainly our public utterances. One of PHIL BURTON's great strengths was that he never lost his capacity for outrage, for anger. He held extremely strong views on many subjects, and while he believed very much in compromise as a way of achieving legislative goals, he never compromised his basic positions on the issues. He was a fighter, and he fought up until the very end for the causes in which he so firmly believed. When PHIL BURTON was on your side, you could not have a more effective ally. When he was not on your side, you knew you were in for the fight of your life, for his opposition came from the heart, and his feelings were matched with great intellect and drive.

Mr. Speaker, the work of the House of Representatives will obviously go on. No person is indispensable. But, without question, with the death of PHIL BURTON, the House has lost one of its truly remarkable Members.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join our colleagues in paying tribute to our late colleague, PHILLIP BURTON of California.

In the conversations of our colleagues and in the news media reports about his untimely death, one of the words always used to describe his service to the people of California and the Nation is "reformer." This is an apt description.

It is one that I learned to associate with PHILLIP BURTON during my first term in this House. During that period, he was a leader in the movement which brought about the passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, the first congressional reform measure to be passed since 1946.

Members of Congress who were new at that time and who have been sent from their States to join us since 1970 have benefited from the changes brought about by that act. But, perhaps even more important were the changes in congressional operation that have occurred to give people throughout the Nation better access to information about how Congress does its work.

PHILLIP BURTON was a man who had the courage to pursue his goals in the face of long odds. He was a strongly committed Member who preferred to continue to work toward achieving his aims rather than resting on his achievements.

For a Congress to be able to serve the best interests of our Nation we need to have among our membership the consensusmakers, the reformers, and the conservators. PHILLIP BURTON was a reformer.

His leadership and dedication will be missed in this House and Congress.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn Sunday of the untimely death of my colleague and friend, PHIL BURTON. PHIL was an outstanding craftsman of the legislative process who effectively fought to promote the beliefs which he held dear. While others remained complacent, PHIL moved mountains and moved them in such a way that the effects will be felt for generations to come.

Not only did PHIL have a profound impact on the political craftsmanship, he had a major impact on the rest of the Nation as well, including my own district. PHIL was instrumental in gaining passage of the Boston African American National Historic Site, which designated within the historic American city of Boston a historical area which was used by the underground railroad to assist escaped slaves. This site honors the history and accomplishments of black Americans and the abolition movement in Boston.

PHIL also championed the rights of the blind and handicapped, the poor and unfortunate, the sick and infirmed. He authored the first national industrial disease-related workers' compensation program, the Supplemental Security Income Act (SSI) and the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978. With the Omnibus Parks Act he was accused of establishing "park barrel," but in reality served his Nation and its people by mastering a plan which tripled the size of the National Trails Systems, almost doubled the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and doubled the wilderness acreage in the National Parks System.

During his tenure in the House PHIL BURTON attempted not only to master the legislative process but make that process more democratic and accessible. He ran for majority leader in 1976 and came within one vote of accomplishing that elusive goal. I liked PHIL BURTON and had the highest admiration for him both as an individual and as a public servant.

I offer my condolences to his wife Sala, daughter Joy, and brother John. I know that they will take great comfort in knowing that despite his premature death, he has left a legacy which will live on for generations to come.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues today to pay tribute to a man who bore the mark of greatness; a man who helped us to arrive at a better understanding of what we can become.

I know that we were all deeply saddened to learn of the untimely death of our friend and colleague, the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON.

Even as we mourn his death, we are grateful that he was among us. This Chamber, our Nation, and our people were enriched by his presence. An undaunted champion of the disadvantaged he will long be remembered for his dedication to making a better life for all our citizens. Another area where PHIL BURTON concentrated his exceptional talents was the environment. Millions of Americans who enjoy our national parks, have PHIL BURTON to thank for his tireless efforts to preserve our Nation's heritage of beauty and grandeur.

It is impossible to do justice to the accomplishments of this truly great American. He dedicated his public life to preserving the rights of the people he served in the Congress, and the American people, he loved so dearly. I sincerely enjoyed my years working with him and learning from him, and I consider it a deep personal privilege to have known him.

I wish to extend my deepest sympathies to his wife Sala, his daughter Joy, and his brother, our distinguished former colleague, the Honorable John L. Burton.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join my colleague from California, the Honorable Don Edwards, in tribute to the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON.

Congressman PHIL BURTON served the House of Representatives and the Nation with dedication and distinction, and his death is a sad loss. During the 18 years that he served as Congressman for the Sixth District of California, he compiled a legislative record on behalf of our citizens that will be remembered with respect and gratitude. PHIL was my friend all of these years, and I was privileged to be elected to the House a few months after he was elected.

PHIL BURTON was a consistent champion of civil rights and civil liberties, and he was among the first in the House of Representatives to publicly oppose the Vietnam war. He fought with compassion for the powerless who could not help themselves.

PHIL was a veteran of World War II and the Korean conflict, and began his career of public service with his election as the youngest member of the California State Assembly in 1956. He was elected to the 88th Congress in a special election on February 18, 1964, and was reelected to each Congress since that time.

During the 92d Congress, Congressman BURTON served as chairman of the Democratic Study Group, during the 94th Congress as chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, in the 96th Congress he served as the chairman of the House Democratic Caucus Committee on Organization, Study, and Review. During the years 1977–81 he served as chairman of the House of Representatives delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly, and from 1978 to 1981, as chairman of the assembly's political committee.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the House Education and Labor Committee, PHIL was in the forefront of economic and social justice and protection of the disabled and the elderly. His outstanding dedication to high standards was an inspiration to his friends and fellow citizens.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Congressman BURTON successfully achieved passage of legislation to strengthen and vastly expand our Nation's National Park System, and indeed, these successful efforts have made our land a stronger and better country.

PHIL was a dedicated and devoted American, and a Congressman of outstanding ability, deep compassion, and courage in total dedication to high standards. He will be sorely missed in the House of Representatives.

Mrs. Annunzio and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Sala, his daughter, Joy, and his brother, John.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply saddened by the tragic loss of PHIL BURTON. The news, when it came on Sunday, was a shock to everyone, and I can only say, as one who knew him well, that the Nation has lost a remarkable legislator and a fine human being. The sadness that so many of us feel is made all the more vivid by the fact that the times cry out for his talent, strength, and humanity.

A person of considerable physical size and immense intellect, PHILLIP BURTON was a man of action. He had a gift for the legislative process and the ways of the House which enabled him to accomplish much. In my 30-year tenure here, I count PHIL BURTON as one of the few individuals who knew exactly what he wanted to do and how to do it from the first day he appeared in the House. His interests were, of course, rational and humane government, the promotion of human dignity, and the protection of the environment. He translated those interests into programs and policies that are helping millions of Americans who never knew him.

But we in this House knew him and he will not be soon forgotten. I will remember him as a compassionate man who loved public life and who worked very hard, perhaps too hard, for the people of California and this country. Addie joins me in expressing our heartfelt sympathy to Sala and their daughter, Joy, as well as to John and all the Burton family.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to Congressman PHILLIP BURTON, a man who will be long remembered in this Chamber, both for his outstanding service on behalf of the people of this country, and for his uncommon political style.

Congressman BURTON served the people of California's Fifth District since 1964. However, his efforts in this Congress extended far beyond the interests of his district. A champion of the poor, the elderly, and the environment, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON was a key figure in the passage of major legislation to expand and improve Government involvement in these areas.

Congressman BURTON treated his duties with a rare intensity. As an acknowledged expert on the political process and its strategies of success, he used his knowledge to command power and respect among his colleagues. He sought and used these advantages not for himself, however, but for the advancement of those causes that he worked so diligently to promote. The preservation of our environment, the safety of our workers, and the protection of our poor and elderly were all issues Congressman PHILLIP BURTON cared about.

Congressman BURTON was a fervent advocate of liberalism, even during the difficult times when a liberal was not an easy thing to be. He was among the first and most vigorous of the opponents of the Vietnam war, in a time when there were few who questioned its purpose. He was a staunch supporter of the civil rights movement and the advancement of minorities.

It was obvious to us all that Congressman BURTON cared a great deal about these issues. But he did more than just care; he acted. Congressman BURTON's legislative record is truly outstanding. He authored supplemental security income, which expanded health care to the elderly, the blind, and the disabled. He worked to extend the minimum wage to 65 million workers who were not previously covered. He was a key figure in correcting mine safety abuses, and giving assistance to the victims of black lung disease.

In the area of environmental issues, Congressman Burton's work is unparalleled. He was responsible for the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978, a comprehensive piece of legislation which added hundreds of thousands of acres to our protected lands. It doubled the wilderness acreage in our National Park System and tripled the size of our National Trails System. He was also a key figure in the passage of the Alaska lands bill which protected 100 million acres of land.

Congressman Burton's legislative achievements and political intensity will be long remembered by his colleagues. His absence from this Chamber, and from the political battles to come will be sorely felt.

The most appropriate way we can honor Congressman Burton though, is not with eulogies or words of praise, but by carrying on his work—his work on behalf of the environment, the elderly, the workers, and the poor. There can be no greater tribute to this man who had, and will continue to have, such a positive and active influence on all of our lives.

Congressman Phillip Burton was a great man, a great warrior, a great legislator, and a great humanitarian. In a world where we often measure success in terms of financial gains, Congressman Burton will stand tall as a giant among men. He was richly committed to the multitudes and the less fortunate.

Jesus Christ taught us that the way to Heaven and salvation was through the commitment we show, not to ourselves, but to our mankind. Congressman Phillip Burton epitomized that philosophy, and I am sure that our Saviour has reserved a very special place for this very special man.

Mr. GUARINI. Mr. Speaker, I join our colleagues in expressing my sorrow over the passing of a remarkable Congressman and a great man, the Honorable Phillip Burton. I shall miss him and his high sense of conscience and duty to America's less fortunate; we have lost a champion who will be difficult to replace.

We all work knowing that Congress is a many-faceted institution, with Members' interests covering a gamut of issues. It is often difficult to build coalitions to get the right thing done, no matter how noble the cause. And yet, Phil Burton had the talent to bring people together when action was necessary to right wrongs, provide relief to the destitute, or protect the precious natural beauty of our great Nation.

No one came to a meeting better prepared than PHIL BURTON. His eye for detail and his remarkable memory complemented an appetite for hard work that was truly phenomenal. With a characteristic brashness, PHIL was justified in saying he knew more about public assistance policy or our National Park System than anyone else. He knew the facts and had an intimate familiarity with these diverse issues, to an extent which would normally take the talents of 10 technicians.

PHIL BURTON was widely known as an aggressive legislator who did not shy from explicitly expressing his views. But there was much more to this man. My executive director, Nancy Drake, had the privilege of working for PHIL BURTON for many years. She attests to another side, ever present but often hidden, to this giant of a man. He was a man who doted on children, especially his two grandchildren, Julian and Laura Temes, the children of his daughter Joy. He experienced no greater pleasure nor delight than their presence—and if you should doubt this, then you should have seen him glow as they wrapped their arms around his neck.

PHIL BURTON had a way, a certain rapport with children. They immediately took to him. To me this is a tall measure of a man, particularly this man, PHILLIP BURTON.

The memorial services for PHIL are to be held at the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, which is so appropriate because he spent so much of his time and energy on the legislation which established this beautiful and peaceful area. I want to express my heartfelt condolences to PHIL's wife, Sala Burton, who is as remarkable a woman as I have ever met, Sala was in every sense a partner of PHIL's working side by side with him as a leader for peace, in the movement for equal rights for women and minorities, and for social and economic justice for all of our people. Those of us who know Sala Burton know that she will do all in her power to carry on PHIL's work. I applaud her, I extend my deepest sympathies to her, and my prayers are with her in the difficult days that are ahead. We shall all miss PHIL BURTON greatly.

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sorrow that I learned of the death of our colleague PHIL BURTON. PHIL was first elected to Congress less than 2 years after my own election and I feel he brought great distinction to the House of Representatives.

PHIL, from the very first, gained the reputation as a hard-working individual who was dedicated to the things he believed in. His record of accomplishments in the fields of labor law and the environment will stand for many years as a tribute to his tireless efforts.

Even though PHIL and I disagreed from time to time, I came to recognize and respect his point of view. PHIL BURTON was a man of his word. Whatever he said he was going to do, he did. You cannot help but have deep respect for such a person.

My wife, Nancy, joins me in expressing our sympathy to his wife, Sala, and the rest of his family. PHIL BURTON will be sorely missed in this Chamber.

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sadness that I learned of the sudden passing of my dear friend and colleague, the Honorable PHIL BURTON of California.

A Member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 1965, PHIL served the people of his district and the interests of Americans everywhere with courage, conviction, and excellence.

He was my friend and my adviser. He was a man who had not only a great mind but also a great heart. People were his concern. There are two reasons for entering politics: To serve self, which is the wrong reason, and to serve others. PHIL BURTON clearly entered politics to serve others. By his great efforts, he directly improved the lives of the people of this country, and he enriched and ennobled the vocation of politics. We shall all miss his leadership.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, PHILLIP BURTON was, without a doubt, one of the most compassionate and caring individuals to serve in this body. His concern for the plight of the poor, the handicapped, the elderly, and minorities in this Nation serves as an inspiration to us all and will be sorely missed.

PHIL's concern for social justice and equality extended far beyond words. He believed in action and was not afraid to fight for causes in which he believed. Through his legislative skill and dedication, he was able to enact legislation creating the supplemental security income program which augmented incomes of more than 4 million needy Americans, and establish the black lung compensation program to assist miners and their families. These are but two of his many notable accomplishments in areas affecting the disadvantaged. Through his hard work, PHIL became one of this body's most respected experts on social welfare; he provided Congress with compassionate leadership in achieving the goal of social and economic equality.

Social welfare was not his only concern, however. He was also one of the most effective legislators for environmental causes. Outdoor lovers throughout the country are enjoying the fruits of his efforts in over 100 national parks which he was instrumental in creating.

In addition to being remembered for his compassion and accomplishments in so many areas, PHIL will also be remembered for his true grit and willingness to enter a fray when he believed in a cause, no matter how unpopular. Such courage was evident in his early and outspoken opposition to the war in Vietnam, and continuation of the House Un-American Activities Committee. These unpopular stands have certainly been borne out with the passage of time.

We miss PHIL, but are heartened by the knowledge that his contributions will not be forgotten.

Mr. DONNELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that a special order of the House has been convened today so that we may express our deep sorrow at the death of one of the true champions of this body, the Honorable PHIL BURTON. It has indeed been a great privilege to serve with PHIL, and know him as a friend. Since his election to Congress in 1964, PHIL BURTON has been a strong voice for the dispossessed and disenfranchised elements in our society. That voice will be sorely missed. His efforts on the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs have brought about landmark legislation from which our country and its citizens will benefit for many years to come.

I feel great sadness at PHIL's untimely death, and my sympathy goes out to his wife, Sala, his daughter, Joy, and his brother, John.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, few men have made the impact upon this body that PHIL BURTON made. I am very proud to have known this giant of a man. When I came to Congress in 1969, I met him for the first time. He and my brother, Carl, had known one another and had been friends for a long time. Carl told me to stick close to PHIL and that I would learn a lot about politics. He was right. PHIL was one of the best teachers I have ever had. He was one of the brightest and ablest men in this Congress.

His keen, analytical legal mind was an asset to him as he crafted much major legislation and reform. His legislative record will be a monument of his legislative skills. I think I learned the most from him when I served on the House Education and Labor Committee with him when I first came to Congress.

This was when I also first met his greatest asset, his wife, Sala. She and Phil made a great pair and were a real team. They had many wonderful years together and all of us who enjoyed so many great occasions with both of them have many fond memories of those times.

Mr. Speaker, Phil's special talents were expended in this body on behalf of an institution he loved and cherished. He was a fighter for causes and was a real liberal who never faltered from the course. His voting record was a monument to liberalism. Mr. Speaker, men and women who serve in this body leave their own mark on it in some way. Phil Burton left a special mark which will never be duplicated. All of us who knew him are the beneficiary of having known and touched this special life. He became a legend in his own time. His brother John and Sala will forever have the deep sympathy and condolences of all of us who were privileged to touch this legend.

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I join with every Member of the Congress in mourning the loss of Phil Burton, a dedicated and effective legislator who cared deeply about his country and who spent his entire adult life in service to it. Phil Burton's presence in this Chamber was always keenly felt, and his intelligence, concern, and powerful drive will be missed by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Phil's legislative accomplishments are wide-ranging, but they share certain important themes. He worked in the interest of the politically weak, the disadvantaged, and the forgotten—never against their interest. And he worked on behalf of all Americans to protect them from powerful special interests who sought to take public lands for their own use and benefit, to destroy our vanishing wilderness areas, and despoil our Nation's most precious resources, its air, lakes, and rivers.

Phil's constituency was the poor, for whom he sought minimum wage protection and helped win it; his constituency was coal miners and other working men and women for whom he sought and helped win health and safety legislation and workers' compensation; his constituency was the blind and disabled, for whom he sought and helped win special assistance under the Supplemental Security Income Act.

Phil had a special interest in a forgotten group of Americans who live in Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. He championed their causes, he helped win them Federal education and health assistance, and most important, he helped win them representation in the House of Representatives to assure that their concerns are never again forgotten by our Government.

PHIL's greatest achievement, however, was not in behalf of any separate constituency; his successful defense of our natural environment, his stewardship of our precious natural resources, was a victory for every American. During PHIL's tenure as Chair of the Subcommittee on National Parks, the Congress made tremendous strides in defense of the environment. With his vigorous leadership, Congress tripled the National Trails System, doubled the wilderness acreage in the National Park System and nearly doubled the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

With Mo Udall and others, PHIL helped pass the Alaska lands bill; he introduced and shephered through to passage a bill expanding and protecting the Boundary Waters Canoe Area; and he won increased authorizations for additional acquisitions for the National Park System.

Californians owe a special debt of gratitude to PHIL BURTON. He was a national leader, but he never neglected his home State or his own constituents. The list of national parks, recreation areas, trails and historic sites he helped create or expand in California, including the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Redwood National Park, and Point Reyes Seashore, is more than impressive: it is truly monumental.

PHIL BURTON was a dynamo. He worked tirelessly and demanded a great deal from all who worked with him and for him. Those of us who have known him throughout his career in Congress know that his energy, his legislative skills, and his deeply felt ideals will not be duplicated and will be sorely missed.

Mr. MRAZEK. Mr. Speaker, all among us who count social, racial, and economic justice as the most prized traditions of this country have lost a champion with the death of PHIL BURTON.

His sudden passing on Sunday took a self-described "fighting liberal" from the American political scene. It also removed a unique character from the stage of U.S. politics, as well as a bit of the soul from this body.

My 3 short months of service here did not give me the opportunity to know PHIL BURTON as many of my colleagues know him. But his reputation for compassion and his unflagging demand for social equity carried far beyond these Halls. Observers far beyond the hills of San Francisco knew of his razor-edged political acumen and his mastery of the art of compromise. And his use of these talents was well known by his primary constituency—the disadvantaged whose lives he sought to improve through a caring heart and an activist government.

There was another side of PHIL BURTON that his colleagues knew well. Those who found themselves on the opposite side of a particular issue knew this facet of his personality all too well, I am sure. His style bore no resemblance to subtlety. He did not suffer fools lightly. That was PHIL BURTON's way, and he did not apologize for it. Yet few have played the game we practice in this body with greater success, or for the greater common good.

It was this PHIL BURTON which came to the fore when, as he put it, he made his "contribution to modern art," his redistricting plan for the State of California. My colleagues on the other side of the aisle likely were less than enthralled by his creation. But there is a difference between using power and abusing it, and PHIL BURTON knew that distinction.

His accomplishments in liberal causes were legion. Whether in protecting the environment, expanding our priceless system of national parks, or leading the fight for the interests of labor and the aged and the disabled, PHIL BURTON left his mark here. The James Watts of this country may come and go, but the spirit of conservation and environmental integrity embodied by PHIL BURTON happily remains constant among Americans with foresight and an appreciation for our responsibility to future generations.

Mr. Speaker, I regret that fate did not allow me more opportunity to know PHIL BURTON and to enlist in his campaigns against poverty and discrimination and injustice, wherever they might be found. But these battles will go on and PHIL's spirit will lead them.

Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of sadness and loss that I join my colleagues in paying a final tribute to our respected colleague, PHIL BURTON.

All of us who had the opportunity to work with PHIL will always remember it as a true learning experience in efficient and effective lawmaking. He was one of the body's most knowledgeable legislators, both on the procedure of the House and the substance of the issues he debated. This knowledge, combined with a level of energy and intensity that few could match, gave him an exceptional talent for getting things done—one that will be sorely missed by those who love the many worthy causes he championed.

Phil had a deep dedication to the preservation of our Nation's land—its mountains, rivers, and coasts—and a great sense of the importance of maintaining wilderness areas for future generations. As a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, he was instrumental in the passage of legislation which established new national parks from one end of the country to the other. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, he was an aggressive and uncompromising advocate of working Americans.

I am proud to have had the opportunity to serve with Phil, and wish to extend my sincere condolences to his family.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I rise to pay tribute to Phil Burton, one of the closest friends I have ever had either in or out of politics.

Phil and I had known each other since 1954, when we campaigned together for State office. With the exception of the first year, I have served my entire congressional term alongside him. We supported many of the same causes, and we worked for many of the same objectives. We shared an excellent working relationship, but beyond that we were close, personal friends. We also shared a lot of good times and laughter. When I remember Phil, I will remember all these aspects of our relationship.

I can unequivocally state that Phil Burton's commitment to this work and his special constituency—the poor, the disabled, the underprivileged, the elderly, anyone who had not gotten a fair shake and, of course, the environment—was strong and sincere. He never really got sufficient recognition for his legislative achievements, but then again, Phil did not do these things for recognition. He did not fight tooth and nail for popularity—he fought for what was right.

To understand the special nature of Phil Burton, however, you also had to understand and appreciate his commitment and loyalty to his friends. In these fast-paced, self-centered times, loyalty is a quality as precious as gems and in this business especially, sometimes just as rare. But Phil would go to the well for his friends, just as we would for him. You could take Phil as he was— no tricks and no pretentions.

There is no question about it—if Phil Burton had not served in the U.S. Congress, millions of people in this country would be significantly worse off than they are today. Our system of parks would not be so magnificent, nor our commitment to preserving our environment so strong. Phil's presence in this body was strongly felt, and we are all better off for having known him.

I share in the grief of the Burton family. Phil left his mark on all of us, and I will miss him very much.

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, a Washington Post columnist this morning wrote about a few of Phil Burton's achievements and the various ways he will be remembered by his colleagues in this body, the people he represented, and others whose lives he touched. I think Phil would have been pleased with Michael Barone's column, especially the closing paragraph, which I quote: "You may or may not agree with what he did, but you have to agree he made a difference."

Phil Burton made a difference in this House. He worked diligently to master the legislative and political processes, and master them he did. Then he used those skills to attain the goals he sought. I do not believe a greater tribute can be made to a human being than to note that he so mastered his skills that he made a difference and gave life to his principles.

I hope this knowledge brings comfort to his wife and daughter to whom I extend my heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Speaker, Phil Burton was one of the great Members of this body, and his death last Sunday at the age of 56 was a tragic loss to all of us and to our country. Phil Burton combined tremendous energy, passionate concern for the underprivileged, outrage against inequality and discrimination in any form, and a masterful expertise in how to get things done. He has been called the most effective Member of Congress, and he worked for a constituency which stretched far beyond the San Francisco district he served so well for almost 19 years.

Our hearts go out to Phil's family, including his devoted wife, Sala, who shared his dreams and his work, and his brother, John Burton, our former colleague who retired just a few months ago.

It is a fitting memorial to Phil Burton that our first major action since his death was passage of the California wilderness bill earlier today, a measure with which Phil was closely identified as the greatest champion of environmental protection in Congress. He leaves a legacy of beauty for all of us and our descendants.

Mr. GLICKMAN. Mr. Speaker, PHILLIP BURTON was perhaps the first Member of Congress I met in 1976 after I was elected to this body. Even before I came to the House, he counseled me on many occasions on matters relating not only to my campaign, but also on orienting myself to the job after the election. During his race for majority leader in December 1976, I spent many hours with him and learned quickly of his political skill and capability in this institution.

Among his other attributes, PHIL BURTON was a masterful politician and a genius at knowing what things I should and should not do as a freshman Congressman. He repeatedly would advise me on both the substantive as well as political ramifications of the many issues and votes I would face both in my committees and on the House floor. Rarely was his advice wrong.

PHIL BURTON's legacies are legion. He, probably more than any other sitting Member, helped to reform and democratize the House. His leadership on labor and environmental issues produced some outstanding public policy for America. Yes, sometimes he was tough and abrasive, but PHIL BURTON's style was no barrier to his desires to deliver a better America for future generations.

My wife, Rhoda, and I extend our deepest sympathies to his wife, Sala, with the hope that she knows that PHIL left a legacy to this institution and to our country which can never be replaced.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, the death of PHIL BURTON is a loss to the cause of progressive politics. For two decades, PHIL BURTON with his tremendous energy, determination, and ability has been an architect of progressive legislation and of reform within the House.

PHIL BURTON became as much a part of the institution as any single Member. PHIL BURTON was an unapologetic, proud champion of liberal causes. PHIL was not neoanything, he was the real thing. He was a master legislative strategist, field marshal, and occasionally avenging angel. He was first and foremost a Democrat—a Liberal Democrat, and proud of it.

He was actively and passionately involved in promoting legislation in the areas of worker rights, environmental protection, political reform, and education. His crusade for sane foreign and defense policies extended back to his opposition to the Vietnam war and forward to his opposition to U.S. military involvement in El Salvador.

PHIL BURTON and I shared many political ideals, and joined in a number of common causes. We had our differences, and we had one major difference which stretched through an entire Congress. I think PHIL, who all of us knew could be extremely direct, would not have wanted me to omit from this tribute a reference to a major policy disagreement which influenced the course of our relationship. PHIL and I were at loggerheads for nearly 2 years over a wilderness bill affecting my district. He thought I was wrong; I thought—and still think—he was wrong. Nevertheless, I came away with a deep respect for appreciation of PHIL BURTON the legislator and PHIL BURTON the politician.

We later joined forces on many other Democratic issues.

PHIL BURTON was unique in the force of his personality, the workings of his mind, his keen understanding of politics. The House is a better place for having had PHIL BURTON as a Member. His death means one less original mind at work in this Chamber. We are all the poorer for it.

His wife, Sala, and his entire family can draw tremendous comfort from his legislative legacy and the reputation he leaves. I offer to them an expression of deepest sympathy and my prayers for them and for PHIL.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the news of PHIL BURTON's untimely death came as a great shock to me. I, like most of our colleagues, had grown to regard him as an indestructible voice in the House for the underprivileged, the elderly, and minority groups.

As one who served on the Committee on the Interior, I had the opportunity of witnessing PHIL BURTON's monumental efforts to expand and enhance the National Park System. Generations yet unborn will be forever in his debt for his legislation that will preserve some of our finest wilderness for posterity. PHIL BURTON was a formidable opponent but he believed to the depth of his being that the proper role of Government was to assist those who need help and to safeguard the natural resources of our country from those who would exploit them.

This House and the Nation has lost an effective, powerful force. My wife and I extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Sala, and his family.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, it is impossible to find the words to adequately express my feeling about the untimely passing of PHIL BURTON. I am truly heartsick at having lost one of the closest friends I will ever have in this world.

I shall leave it to others today to detail his many and impressive legislative and political accomplishments, for he was truly a national leader.

My association with Phil Burton was almost entirely personal. We had heard of each other even before he came to the Congress in February 1964 and we quickly became dear and close friends.

Phil and I spent more time outside of these Halls and offices together than we spent sharing legislative and political business. I think I can safely say that I know him from literally every aspect because of that personal time spent together.

Our families were very close and he was like an uncle to my three sons as they were growing up. For those who think of Phil Burton as a hardnosed, sometimes abrasive politician. I can tell you of the other side of him. He was an extremely generous person, one of the most loyal individuals to friends and his convictions I have ever met.

We all had the opportunity to see his compassion as he fougth unrelentingly for the black lung law; for welfare reform; for SSI. His constituency was the poor, the disadvantaged, minorities, the downtrodden. And, he will also certainly be remembered as one of the most committed individuals to peace these Halls have ever witnessed.

I feel a deep sense of personal loss. I shall miss his booming voice decrying the indignities of the injustices of the world. But, much more than that, I shall miss his valued friendship.

My wife, Dorothy, and I extend our heartfelt sympathies to his wife, Sala.

Mr. BADHAM. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to the memory of Phil Burton. Although Phil and I probably never agreed on a single political issue, we did learn a certain respect for one another over the more than 20 years during which time we were friends, opponents, colleagues in both the State and Federal legislatures. Again I say we probably never agreed on any political issue, but I admired Phil Burton as an excellent practitioner of his art—the art of politics; politics played hard ball; politics played 25 hours per day; politics played for keeps. At this, Phil Burton was a master. I counted Phil among my friends and I must say that in the years of conflict and disagreement, neither of us was ever less than totally honest with the other. Whether in disagreement, or agreement, this is the essence of the give-and-take arena of pure politics. This system has lost a competent player.

Mr. PHILIP M. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, whenever PHIL BURTON and I voted together on an issue, we figured one of us was wrong. There were not too many times when PHIL and I found ourselves on the same side, but I respected PHIL as a person albeit we were usually adversaries.

PHIL was a man of deep conviction who was willing to fight fiercely for his beliefs. Yet as strongly as PHIL could fight on an issue, he was always a gentleman and he retained a redeeming sense of humor.

I will miss PHIL BURTON in this body His ideological colleagues have lost one of their most energetic and talented leaders, and we have all lost a friend, regardless of ideological or political persuasion.

My condolences go to Sala, his brother, John, and all relatives and friends of PHIL BURTON.

Mr. CLARKE. Mr. Speaker, PHIL BURTON was a unique person—brilliant, forceful, and dedicated to the causes in which he believed. He was a true champion of the Nation's public land and the conservation of their resources for the use and enjoyment of the American people.

PHIL leaves a legacy of devotion to the welfare of men and women who often could not speak for themselves but who benefited from his fearless and tireless work on their behalf. Congress and the American people mourn the loss of this brave man.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, of the many eloquent statements that have been made paying tribute to our colleague PHILLIP BURTON, the words of William H. Anderson, Budget Office of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, seemed to me to be particularly moving.

The following is Mr. Anderson's statement:

> A great patriot has passed. A great American has become a part of our history. An era has ended. PHIL BURTON is dead.
>
> His proteges remain and remember.
>
> PHIL had many—almost all were chosen by him—although some chose him. PHIL shared others with the electorate of this great Nation, and never let them forget it. Once you were PHIL's, you were expected to stay PHIL's. It was the mark of political manhood for those who broke his hold, only to become more captive as colleagues. There are many of us on the Hill today who feel—well, yes, orphaned.
>
> The great political godfather filled a space that no one else can, nor would the truth be known, want to fill. Not since the likes of Lyndon have we seen such a one as he.

PHIL had an inner circle too, but it had suffered distress and demise in recent years. And, somehow, no matter how much they wanted not to, their successors had to share the circle with the ghosts of power passed.

But PHIL was never one to be incapacitated by the losses. Oh, he counted and recounted the votes all right. And sometimes to his own disadvantage. But in his prime he had no peer. The measure of the man came later, when it was not his day, and he counted votes for the sake of the common man and the national weal. The BURTON legacy in national legislation will be remembered as long as the redwoods stand, and as long as free men and women unite in solidarity against the darker forces that threaten their peace and freedom.

It will be strange not to hear that booming voice that announced the BURTON presence to one and all. Watching PHIL perform was worth the price of admission, and kept this House in the big leagues.

Not for PHIL the trahison des clercs. God help you if you tried to outsmart him with fancy legal tricks; he invented them. What are we to do without the master draftsman?

St. Peter, I hope you're ready for uncle PHIL as he goes through his golden gate to get to yours. A word to the wise. Don't grant him unanimous consent for anything.

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to our departed colleague, PHILLIP BURTON of California.

Although I served with him for only a few short months, I admire PHIL BURTON's record of accomplishment. It is a model for those of us who are new to the Congress and national service. PHIL cared very deeply about people and he was able to translate that concern into a solid, active legislative career here in the House.

When one looks at PHIL BURTON's record, it becomes apparent that he fought the causes of those who often do not have a strong voice in Congress, those who are not able to lobby for themselves: the poor, the elderly, and the working people of this country. From black lung legislation, to supplemental security income, to increased minimum wage, PHIL helped those most in need. He also left a legacy of commitment to creating and preserving national parks and wilderness areas from coast to coast. You can see his hand in the millions of acres of land across this country that have been saved for future generations.

PHIL BURTON was a remarkable leader, a caring and compassionate man who never stopped fighting for what he believed in. This House and this country will miss him, but we were indeed fortunate to have had the benefit of his service.

WEDNESDAY, *April 13, 1983.*

The SPEAKER. The Chair wishes to lay before the House a Message from the Senate on Senate Resolution 109:

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution:

SENATE RESOLUTION 109

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON, late a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, the death of Representative PHIL BURTON represents a great loss to both this House and to our Nation. It was with tremendous sorrow that I learned of our colleague's death on Sunday night. PHIL's work in the House, as chairman of the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, and as a distinguished member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee gave him his reputation as a champion of the poor, defender of workers' rights and protector of the environment. When I first came to Washington in November 1976, PHIL was one of the first persons with whom I met. Over the past 6 years, through my work with him on the Interior Committee, I came to know him as one of the body's most capable politicians. The causes PHIL supported and worked for were as diverse as the district in San Francisco which he represented. He promoted the interests of the elderly, minorities, handicapped, environmentalists and labor. Yesterday, this House passed the California Wilderness Act. I think that this is a fitting tribute to our colleague who worked so hard for the causes of environmentalism. I would like to extend my sympathy to all of PHIL's family and friends. A great colleague is gone and this body will certainly miss him.

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in speaking on behalf of a great leader who has left our ranks. Congressman PHIL BURTON. PHIL BURTON was a man who used everything in his power to fight for principles he held dear. We often were on opposite sides of the issues, but I admired his tenacity, strength of will, and sense of purpose.

Despite our differences of opinion, PHIL BURTON was one man who appreciated a good debate and could remain friendly even in the face of conflict. I remember on several occasions when, after a good heated discussion, he would say, "I don't agree with you, but I respect your arguments."

PHIL BURTON was a mover and shaker here in Washington, in Congress, and in the Democratic Party. He also was a mover and shaker in California. When all of us here in Congress face the daily frustrations of accomplishing our goals, we should take a moment to reflect on this man's ability to get things done. He understood how Congress works, and I know we will miss his leadership.

Above all else, while PHIL BURTON was unquestionably partisan, he was unquestionably fair. Congress will suffer the loss of PHIL BURTON. And with this loss, I hope we on both sides of the aisle while we may disagree will remain fair.

THURSDAY, *April 14, 1983.*

The House met at 11:00 o'clock a.m.

Dr. Charles V. Bergstrom, Lutheran Council in the USA, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

O God of purity and peace, God of light, freedom, and justice, God of comfort and joy. Once more we join in the strength of prayers offered so many times in this place for our Nation as a land of hope and of sharing. We pray for the millions of people in the world who search for peace, who face hunger and are unemployed. May Your great power be with them.

As we thank You for Your care, we also ask for the strength that will bless this Nation through storm and darkness. Give us the wisdom to accept the responsibility and opportunity of giving the world a standard of impartial liberty. Bless these Halls of Government to make decisions and pass laws that support our families and our people. Give new resolve this week against bigotry, against prejudice—new hope for all minorities.

On this day, O God, we thank You for the lives of those who have served here—especially for PHILLIP BURTON. Bless his wife Sala, daughter Joy, brother John, and all who memorialize him this day. Amen.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, today a number of our colleagues departed for California on a sad mission to pay tribute to our departed colleague, PHIL BURTON.

He will be missed greatly in this House, but nowhere more than in this very well, where time and again he produced for the Democratic Party on the close votes. He was here able to persuade that winning margin that was necessary time and again on critical issues.

We will miss PHIL BURTON, especially on the close ones, for he delivered time and again.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Mr. Speaker, PHILLIP BURTON lived with an intensity and a fury of the Sun itself. Garrulous, rambunctious, emotional, cunning, brilliant, forthright, he strode in large stride across the stage of politics.

An unabashed liberal Democrat, a champion of the underdog, he pursued the social solutions relentlessly. Countless pages of the United States Code are filled with his solutions to the issues most to his concern: Welfare, the environment, and labor. These he pursued relentlessly. His political method was simple: Prepare thoroughly, think ahead, and act accordingly.

But perhaps even more he loved politics for its own sake. He once described to me that politics was like a bat flying in a cave, constantly sending and receiving signals, groping now here and then there, groping until a way was found. If politics is an art, no artist painted with a more deft touch.

He loved the irony of politics. Ardent liberal though he was, he loved nothing more than to sit—to sit in his office, late afternoon into evening, with the ever-present vodka and cigarettes—with Republican Members of the conservative stripe, hours on end, discussing, arguing, planning, working things out. How often in the Interior Committee, where we both served, would he present bills or amendments that had been worked out the night before? We cannot count them all.

It may fairly be said that his passionate and extravagant living contributed to his untimely demise. He was consumed by the flames of his own brilliance.

His last grand political gesture was the California reapportionment. It drew cries of outrage, and, shall we say, it rewrote the

Marquis of Queensbury Rules. But no one could deny the hand of the master himself.

He lived life as he loved it. In the end, but not even Phillip Burton could reapportion Fate and Death.

We shall miss him.

Mr. EARLY. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn last Monday morning of the sudden, unexpected, and premature death on Sunday of my good friend and colleague from California, Congressman Phil Burton. It is said he made a very rare admission to a friend last Thursday of feeling quite ill but in view of weekend commitments in California he characteristically attempted to shake it off. If he had sought prompt medical examination and treatment it is possible he might still be with us. Perhaps there is a lesson there for each of us. In his 19 years of outstanding service here Phil Burton taught many lessons to a lot of people in and around the Congress.

He will be missed here. His district people and the Nation have suffered a real loss. He was a knowledgeable and effective national legislator. He was recognized as an exceptionally skillful and resourceful parliamentarian. He was an admitted leader in the House. He was a force to be reckoned with and with whom reasonable accommodation was advisable whenever the concerns of his home people or his personal convictions and principles were involved. He concentrated his tremendous talents on the cooperative achievement of the wholesome objectives of his district communities and for the comforting resolution of the personal and family problems his constituents had with government agencies.

He appeared to be a man of inexhaustible energy and perpetual activity. His energy and activities were exercised for the fullest development of the lives of the distressed many, not the privileged few. He was a very strong believer in the duty of the Government to provide expanding opportunities for all Americans of whatever race or creed to obtain a better education, a better job, and a better surrounding for themselves and their children. "Improving the quality of life" for the less fortunate was not a catchy phrase for Phil Burton; it was his political action mission.

Among his associates he had definite likes and dislikes and made little effort to conceal his feelings. Nevertheless he was universally respected. Those who had close personal relationships with him deeply admired and praised him for his forthright honesty, his rigid fulfillment of his given word, his compassion for the truly helpless and needy, his enthusiastic defiance of powerful interests within and without the Congress, his unswerving loyalty in friendship and his intense concern for the progress of his country.

PHIL BURTON was an extraordinary personality. He seemed always to be in a hurry, occasionally brusque and at times very impatient with himself and others. Like most of us he had his full share of critics. However I believe that his record as a private person and a public legislator will show that he always tended toward the side of the angels. I earnestly hope that the angels will remain at his side throughout eternity. I extend my deepest sympathy to his gracious wife and daughter in their great sorrow.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, like everyone in this body, I was shocked to hear the news of the untimely death of our colleague, PHIL BURTON. Indeed, how could someone with so much life no longer be among us.

We all have our stories about PHIL BURTON, and having served with him on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, I had the opportunity to see him during some of his best times.

I will always be most appreciative to PHIL for the help he was to me during my first term, when he supported my efforts to have the New River Gorge Area of my district designated a national river. I think this, like many of his other efforts to maintain the natural beauty of this great land of ours, will be a legacy to him and his career.

But we all know that PHIL BURTON did much more. He did not only protect forests and rivers, he fought to protect and save the lives of working men and women—especially our Nations coal miners in their long and difficult sruggle to receive decent black lung benefits. On their behalf, I say, "Thank you, PHIL BURTON for helping all working Americans secure a safe and healthy environment."

And then there was PHIL's deep concern for Americans fighting in Vietnam. Those of us who were not Members of Congress during that time only hear the stories of how PHIL BURTON took courageous stands on an issue that was not very popular. He did not oppose American action in Vietnam when it was the vogue thing to do. he fought against the war when many considered such a position as the "un-American" thing to do.

But, PHIL did not hold back. He never held back. That is how he lived his life, and that is how his life ended. He was on the move, doing things that he knew were right—taking the right stands for the right reasons.

He will not be soon forgotten. He should not be. He was a fine man, a good Congressman, and a true American—full of freedom and life.

Mr. DOWDY of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my words of tribute to our late colleague and my friend, PHIL BURTON.

When I left my hometown of McComb, Miss., to come to Washington only 2 days after our special congressional election, I knew that I would need some guidance on the intricate workings of Congress. Although PHIL BURTON had an extremely demanding schedule because of his heavy involvement in so many areas, he generously took the time to offer me his advice, support, and friendship. I will always remember his kindness to me both during those early days after my arrival and in the many months that followed.

I feel fortunate to have had the benefit of his vast knowledge and experience. My association with PHIL BURTON taught me a valuable lesson about the good things that representative government can accomplish for the people of this country.

PHIL BURTON will be remembered for the issues he championed—better conditions for working people, hope for those born into poverty, and a healthier and more beautiful environment for all of us.

The House of Representatives has lost an outstanding leader. Many of us have lost a loyal friend as well.

I join my colleagues in sending our deepest sympathy to his wife, Sala, their children, and his brother, John. I hope they will take comfort in knowing that PHIL's life meant so much to so many people.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent on April 12 because of important business in my district. The House at that time approved H.R. 1437 California Wilderness Act of 1983 offered by our beloved late colleague, PHIL BURTON of California. I fully endorse this act which will go a long way toward rounding out the Nation's wilderness system. H.R. 1437 is a major step in the protection of key wildlife populations in our Nation and it will be a wonderful legacy to Representative BURTON.

I would like to add that I would have voted no on the amendments to H.R. 1437 proposed by Mr. Walker of Pennsylvania and the amendment proposed by Mr. Young of Alaska.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, the life of PHILLIP BURTON was highlighted and characterized by a fierce commitment to civil rights, civil liberties, and environmentally healthy surroundings throughout the Nation. Representative BURTON championed the causes of the underprivileged and turned his discontent with injustices into constructive achievements throughout his career as a legislator.

PHILLIP BURTON stood in this House many times and initiated and fought so that we might enact such essentials as: Minimum wage extensions; black lung compensation provisions; and reforms to insure that the House of Representatives remains an open, responsive institution. I have been proud to support his leadership as he authored and/or sponsored such initiatives as, the Supplemental Security Income Act, and legislation to authorize moneys to renovate existing park and recreation facilities in urban areas.

With PHIL BURTON in the House of Representatives, we could always count on a valid concern about adequate representation in the National Park System for diverse ethnic and minority groups. Moreover, we could look to Congressman BURTON to take a leadership role insuring such additions as: The Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park and Preservation Site in Georgia, and the Maggie Lena Walker National Historic Site in Virginia. My own efforts to secure a commemorative medallion in honor of Ms. Walker—the first black female bank president—were greatly enhanced due to the existence of the aforementioned historic site.

PHILLIP BURTON stood as a giant among those who fight to secure a clean, healthy environment for our Nation. His numerous achievements in this area have been rewarded many times by such distinguished groups as, the Sierra Club, the American Rivers Conservation Council, and the National Wildlife Federation.

In June of 1978, Congressman BURTON was awarded the "Outstanding Political Service Award" in recognition of his highly significant contribution to the effectiveness of black Members of Congress. This award was presented by the National Convention of Black Publishers in Cleveland, Ohio. The award was a confirmation of PHIL BURTON's continued willingness to support and provide leadership in many legislative areas which impact the unique problems of the black community. For this work, I will be eternally grateful.

All of us who worked with Congressman BURTON are strengthened by the memories of his unwavering dedication to justice and a better country for all citizens. He will be sorely missed.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, it is with regret that I pay tribute to our late and outstanding colleague, PHIL BURTON. PHIL's untimely passing was a moment of sadness for us all.

PHIL and I were associates—for my first 4 years in the House—on the Education and Labor Committee. More recently, we were colleagues on the Steering and Policy Committee.

I have always known PHIL to be an indefatigable politician and an enthusiastic consensus seeker. His influence and widespread contributions to the House attest to the hard work and dedication with which he served his constituency and this Nation.

PHIL will be missed by all who knew him, I extend my condolences to his wife Sala and to his daughter Joy.

Mr. GARCIA. Mr. Speaker, PHIL BURTON is dead and even as we remember him his dominating presence is felt. Congress was changed by PHIL. He opened it up for minorities and others whose politics were not part of the mainstream.

He was a powerful man politically and physically, with a gruff, often intimidating style. But he was decent, fair minded, and a friend to the poor. He was also sensitive, and at times, a proverbial pussycat.

PHIL understood Congress and used it to its fullest advantage. He engineered legislation that aided the poor and labor. He was a faithful protector of our national parks and the Democratic Party. He made certain that our natural wilderness lands were preserved, as well as establishing new parks in urban and rural areas.

His redistricting plans for California were bold and imaginative. The Democratic Party in that State was strengthened because of his efforts. His defeat in the race for majority leader in 1976 did not slow him down. He continued to legislate and work within the Democratic Caucus. As chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, I am particularly aware of the work he did for minorities and the poor, and American dependencies such as Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. We will feel his absence most profoundly.

It is difficult to try and describe the impact the death of a respected colleague and friend without somehow diminishing their accomplishments, their life. So it is with PHIL BURTON. The list of his accomplishments is extensive, but it is only a small indication of what he did, of what he was. He meant a great deal to this body, and we will not be the same without him.

I mourn with his wife, friend, confident, and adviser Sala. Perhaps only she really understands just how great a man PHIL was.

She too is a tough woman, and I am sure she will carry on with dignity and strength. But my heart goes out to her, and to all of us, for whether we know it or not, we will all miss PHIL BURTON.

I hope that PHIL will draw me a good district up there, like the one I have now, full of Hispanics, blacks, and elderly Jewish couples. Then we can begin our work together again.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of one of this body's most brilliant and accomplished legislators has filled me with a profound sense of sorrow. The late Congressman BURTON was a distinguished leader of boundless spirit, tireless energy, and deepest dedication to the humanitarian principles so basic to our democracy.

PHILLIP BURTON left us without warning; but he left us a legacy of legislative and political achievements which will continue to influence our future for many years. Congressman BURTON's deep attachment to his work will long be remembered by those who knew him. I deeply value having had the privilege to work closely with PHILLIP BURTON. He was a distinguished statesman whose love for the land and the hard-working people of our great Nation are a matter of record. Congressman PHILLIP BURTON's countless contributions to our society cannot be overestimated; he has shaped and directed the history of this Nation.

I am honored to pay tribute to my dear friend and colleague, PHILLIP BURTON.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday at PHIL BURTON's memorial service in San Francisco I was particularly struck by the wide representation of people present. Not only were there over a hundred Members and former Members of Congress present—a remarkable tribute to PHIL—but there were many people from his congressional district, and from all around the Nation—even from the distant islands of the Western Pacific. PHIL had been special to all of them.

PHIL BURTON devoted his life and great and unique talents to the welfare of all Americans, and he especially worked to better the lot of the poor, the sick and disabled, the senior citizens, and the victims of intollerance and discrimination.

As a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, PHIL championed legislation that nearly doubled the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, more than doubled the wilderness acreage in the National Park System, and tripled the size of the National Trails System.

Phil was particularly proud to be the author of legislation that created the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. It was, indeed, fitting that his memorial service was held there in the Great Meadow.

But perhaps no greater memorial befits this giant of a man then do the majestic redwood trees which will stand forever, because Phil was their champion too.

His commitment over the years to those with little political power inspired him to champion causes for the people of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Marianas, the Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and Puerto Rico. He began the process by which they could ultimately determine their own political destinies, by seeing that they began to be represented in the Congress, and by encouraging them to begin to write their own constitutions.

For all of us who served with Phil, he will always hold a very special place in our hearts, and in our memories of the days we shared together in this great institution.

To fully capture with words Phil's legacy to us is most difficult. But the following biography of Phil Burton provides an overview of the enormous achievements this good man attained for the benefit of all of us. I would like, therefore, to submit it for the Record in order that all may know of his great contributions to our Nation.

Biography of Phillip Burton, Fifth District, California

Born: June 1, 1926 in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Education: 1944—George Washington High School, San Francisco, Calif.; 1947—University of Southern California, B.A.—political science; 1952—Golden Gale Law School, San Francisco, Calif., L.L.B.

Military: World War II, Navy—V–12; and Korean War, U.S. Air Force—1st Lieutenant, Assistant Staff Judge Advocate.

Family: Wife, Sala; daughter, Joy.

Career: 1952—Attorney at law, admitted to practice before U.S. Supreme Court, 1956; 1956—Elected member, California State Assembly; 1964 to present, Member, U.S. House of Representatives.

Committees: Education and Labor; Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, Chair; Subcommittee on Labor Standards.

Interior and Insular Affairs: Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks; Subcommittee on Insular Affairs.

Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

OTHER POSITIONS

1974 to present—Democratic Study Group, Executive Committee.

1977 to present—Chair, U.S. House of Representatives delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA).

1978 to present—President, Political Committee (NAA).

1971 to 1977—Chair, Insular Area Subcommittee.

1971 to 1973—Chair, Democratic Study Group.

1974 to 1976—Chair, House Democratic Caucus.

1977 thru 1980—Chair, Interior Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs.

1979 and 1980—Chair, Committee on Organization, Study and Review, Democratic Caucus Reform Committee.

1979 and 1980—Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and Chair, U.S. House of Representatives delegation to the U.N. Trusteeship Council.

PROFILE

An articulate spokesperson for the liberal position, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON was first elected to the House of Representatives in a special election on February 18, 1964. A master legislative tactician, he is a forceful advocate and champion of the Nation's underprivileged and has long been in the forefront of the struggle to protect civil rights and civil liberties. He is nationally recognized as a leader in the areas of environmental protection and labor law.

In 1976, he received all but one of the votes necessary to become one of the youngest House majority leaders in the history of the U.S. House of Representatives. He is acknowledged to be one of the Nation's foremost Members of Congress.

Congressman BURTON has a reputation for legislative skill that is recognized by both sides of the aisle. He is known for his hard work and unique ability to work with and reconcile diverse views to accomplish a desirable legislative goal.

LEGISLATIVE CAREER ACHIEVEMENT HIGHLIGHTS

Key leader in enactment of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act providing the strongest health and welfare protection to workers in this most dangerous job occupation.

Authored the Black Lung compensation provisions of the 1970 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, the first national industrial disease-related workers' compensation program that has benefited more than half a million workers to date.

Authored the Supplemental Security Income Act (SSI), a nationally guaranteed income maintenance program providing help to 4.1 million aged, disabled, and blind persons.

Opposed the war in Vietnam from the onset and opposed all appropriations for the conduct of that war, including the first supplemental appropriations in May 1965.

Key figure in reform of U.S. House of Representatives. Probably more responsible than any other single person for the reforms that have made the House an open, responsive institution.

Authored legislation in 1966 extending the minimum wage to 6.5 million previously uncovered workers, including farmworkers, service employees—such as hospital, restaurant and laundry workers—and Federal blue collar workers not under civil service protection.

Managed legislation in 1978 extending the minimum wage and increasing the minimum rate from $2.30 to $3.35 per hour, largest single increase in history—$1.05 per hour.

Personally responsible for legislative provisions including more workers under minimum wage and overtime protection—since first enactment of the minimum wage law—than any other Member in the history of the U.S. Congress.

ENVIRONMENT

As Chair of the Subcommittee on National Parks in the 95th and 96th Congresses, set an unprecedented record for establishing and protecting parks, wilderness areas, trails and wild and scenic rivers, including the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978—the most sweeping piece of environmental legislation ever to pass the Congress:

Tripled the size of the National Trails System; almost doubled the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System; more than doubled the wilderness acreage in the National Park System.

Key figure in passage of Alaska Lands bill, protecting over 100 million acres of land, including the largest designated wilderness area in the Nation.

Introduced and ensured enactment of a bill adding 45,000 acres to the limits of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in Minnesota. This law restricted both mining activities in the wilderness and motorized use of lakes in the area.

Sponsored legislation enacted to authorize $725 million to renovate existing park and recreation facilities in urban areas.

Authored major amendment to the Historic Preservation Act that extended authorization of appropriations under the Historic Preservation Fund and expanded the responsibilities of Federal programs affecting preservation efforts.

Increased authorizations—for over 50 units of the National Park System—to provide for long overdue acquisition of State/national park and related outdoor areas across the Nation.

Authored and enacted into law proposals ensuring more adequate representation in the National Park System of our diverse ethnic and minority elements, including these new additions:

American Memorial Park, Saipan.

Kalaupapa National Historic Park, leper colony, Hawaii.

Kaloko-Honokohau National Historical Park, Hawaii.

War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam.

Boston African American National Historical Site, Massachusetts.

Maggie L. Walker National Historical Site, first Black female bank president, Virginia.

Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historical Park and Preservation Site, Georgia.

Chaco Culture National Historical Park, to protect ancient Indian dwellings and artifacts, New Mexico.

Salinas National Monument, archeological protection, New Mexico.

David Berger Memorial, Jewish Olympic athlete assassinated in Munich, Ohio.

Thaddeus Kosciuzsko Home National Historical Site, recognition of Polish General in U.S. service, Pennsylvania.

Women's Rights National Historical Park, in recognition of the contributions of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Improvements in these existing areas of the park system: Frederick Douglass Home, commemoration of Black abolitionist, D.C.; Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Hawaii; and Piscataway Park, to permit burial of Chief Tayac, Maryland.

Sponsored and enacted legislation to establish the Holocaust Memorial Council, the Native Hawaiian Study Commission, and a National Center for the Study of Afro-American History and Culture in Ohio.

Instrumental in prohibiting entrance fees in almost 270 of the 327 units of the National Park System and providing free admission to the blind and disabled.

Authored legislation adding three Members to the U.S. House of Representatives by extending representation to Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa. A concurrent resolution of commendation was passed by the Samoan Legislature for "a political and historical milestone and achievement."

Authored legislation extending Land Grant College Status—and aid—to colleges in Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Americans Samoa.

Authored and enacted into law the purchase or construction of modern hospital and health care facilities in Guam, the Virgin Islands, and the Northern Mariana Islands.

Enacted legislation to include $15 million for the Bikini people to cover relocation costs incurred by having to move some of them from their homes on the nuclear contaminated island of Bikini. This measure also provided for the lifetime health evaluation and care for these victims of U.S. nuclear testing, and established a $6 million trust fund to be used exclusively for the benefit of the Bikini people and their descendants.

ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION CONCERNING CALIFORNIA

Authored legislation which expanded the Redwood National Park and provided the first environmentally related workers' compensation program.

Authored legislation, Burton-Santini bill, protecting Lake Tahoe from future deterioration by development on its shore.

Authored legislation and was the architect of the enactment of the bill to create the magnificent Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo Counties.

Sponsored the California Wilderness bill—passed House in 1981. Protects more wilderness acreage, 3.5 million acres, than in any State in the continental United States.

Authored legislation enacted to establish the Channel Islands National Park. This law expanded the previously designated national monument by more than 100,000 acres.

Authored legislation enacted to establish the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area.

Authored legislation enacted to establish the Mineral King Area—addition to Sequoia National Park.

OTHER LEGISLATION ENACTED

Port Reyes National Seashore—significant expansion of the national seashore.

Fort Point National Historic Site—established the site.

Old San Francisco Mint—preserved as historic building.

Farallon Islands—extended wilderness protection to the islands.

America River—designated wild and scenic.

Kern River—proposed for study as wild and scenic river.

Pacific Crest Trail—protection of national scenic trail.

Pinnacles National Monument—increased acreage.

Whiskeytown Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area—increased development ceiling by $2 million.

John Muir National Historic Site—increased funds for protection of resource.

Leader in the effort to protect the Big Sur Area.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous agreement, the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs favorably reported a resolution in memorial for our late friend and colleague, the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON.

I include the resolution in the Record at this point:

RESOLUTION IN MEMORIAM—PHILLIP BURTON, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

PHILLIP BURTON brought a special brand of vision, zeal, and social conscience to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Although his sudden death on April 10, 1983, leaves each of us saddened, his life enriched us in spirit.

He served on this Committee with distinction and dedication for 19 years. During that time, he served as chair of the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs for three terms beginning with the 92d Congress and as chair of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs for two terms beginning with the 95th Congress.

As a Committee member and as a subcommittee chair, PHIL BURTON fought passionately and successfully for the protection of our national heritage and the well-being of all of our citizens, especially those who have been entrusted to this Committee's care.

PHIL BURTON's legacy to future generations of Americans includes the establishment and protection of an almost endless list of new and expanded national parks, wilderness areas, and wild and scenic rivers. The national trails system was tripled through his efforts. The landmark Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act became law with the help of his remarkable legislative skills.

He was particularly proud of his accomplishments for the people of California, including his legislation that led to the creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo Counties and his successful efforts to expand Redwood National Park.

His commitment to those people with little political power inspired PHIL BURTON to champion the needs of the peoples of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Marianas, Puerto Rico, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands. His legacy to them is extensive and includes: Providing representation in the U.S. Congress for American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands; providing Guam and the Virgin Islands the opportunity to attain full self-government by authorizing them to write their own constitutions; obtaining congressional approval of the covenant between the Northern Marianas and the United States; working to extend coverage of laws providing for medical and public health benefits to these people; and obtaining enactment of a law requiring the development of a health care program for the people of certain atolls in the Northern Marshall Islands adversely affected by the U.S. nuclear weapons testing.

Often ahead of his time, he was not afraid of being in the minority on critical issues of the day. He simply voted his beliefs as evidenced by his being one of the earliest opponents of the Vietnam war.

PHIL BURTON dedicated his life and his great talents to the welfare of people and to equal justice for all, working with compassion and determination to better the lot of the poor, the sick and disabled, the elderly and the victims of intolerance and discrimination. Public service was his all-consuming passion and we shall miss his commitment and his devotion to bettering the lot of his fellow Americans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by unanimous vote of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, assembled in regular meeting on April 20, 1983, That upon adjournment of the Committee it do so out of respect for our late colleague PHILLIP BURTON; that this resolution be spread upon the record of the Committee; and that a copy thereof be transmitted to his wife Sala and daughter, Joy.

Mr. BRYANT. Mr. Speaker, although I had known Congressman PHILLIP BURTON for only a matter of a few months, I quickly discovered that this giant of a man was both a potent adversary and an awesomely faithful friend. His political genius served well the noblest and most altruistic ideals of our Nation and its people. PHIL BURTON had the courage to oppose the powerful in the abuse of power and the compassion and commitment to support justice and fair treatment for all regardless of the popularity of the cause.

Politics is filled with puffery and exaggeration, but PHIL BURTON was straightforward and to the point. He kept his commitments and expected the same of others. In his last campaign, PHIL BURTON said, “You can bet your bibby that I’ll never fail to fight for social, racial, and economic justice as long as I can draw a breath.”

In PHIL BURTON's death we have lost a powerful advocate of what is right. I have lost a friend, just as our friendship was being firmly established, but one from whom, in just a matter of weeks, I learned a great deal.

I will personally miss PHIL BURTON, and my heart goes out to his family and loved ones and those who were privileged to know him better than I. His absence from the Congress means more than a temporarily vacant seat. It is the loss of a powerful voice and a powerful conscience for us all.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, as the days and weeks pass, we will begin to understand more fully the already apparent loss sustained by this body and this Nation upon the passing of our distinguished colleague, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON.

A preeminent and effective conservationist, he championed a wide array of causes. During his 4 years as chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs, he produced a monumental volume of parks legislation. The centerpiece of that effort was the omnibus National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978, the largest single piece of parks legislation ever enacted by the Congress. It addressed needs which had languished from inattention for decades.

PHIL had a great ability to see the big picture, to look far ahead to anticipate future problems, to develop solutions to those problems and to prevail in meeting his objectives for enacting those solutions. He made milestone accomplishments in the field of parks conservation and the preservation of our outdoor environment. Few people can begin to mention all of the projects that he fathered.

One of PHIL's most important legacies, one for which he has not been given sufficient credit, was the instigation of a nationwide survey of the condition of our National Park System. That survey, a joint project of BURTON and another colleague, the late Representative Keith Sebelius of Kansas, produced the May 1980 "State of the Parks Report," which detailed major threats to the integrity of most units of our National Park System.

That report now serves as the basis of a current legislative effort to enact parks protection legislation. I am pleased to have had the opportunity to work closely with other Members in carrying forward this vital effort. Had it not been for the early perception of this problem by Congressmen BURTON and Sebelius, we would not have made significant progress in our efforts to halt the serious decline in the protection of our parks resources. For this reason we cannot underestimate the importance of their leadership and foresight.

Representative Burton was also primarily responsible for the passage of legislation greatly strengthening protection for the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness in Minnesota and the Redwood National Park in his native State of California. Of course, one of his greatest prides and joys was the creation of the Golden Gate National Recreational Area in and around his home of San Francisco.

He made his mark in many other areas as well; his forceful leadership in the preservation of wilderness areas and wild and scenic rivers as well as his tireless work for the establishment of scenic trails, and youth hostels benefited not just his own State, but the entire Nation. Most of what Phil Burton did for the benefit of the American people did rarely receive even the smallest headline, but yet he pursued his goals with a dedication few could match.

Our colleague used his legislative skill and his mastery of the political process to benefit all Americans. As a result of his work, generations after us will be able to enjoy the rich natural heritage which is America. With his passing, conservation has lost one of its very ablest and strongest allies and leaders.

Although most of Congressman Burton's legislative achievements are well known, his personal accomplishments and attributes deserve equal renown and praise. Phil Burton was indeed a formidable adversary and a master politican, but he was also a valued friend and adviser.

I met Phil Burton during my first few days as a Member of this body when I was appointed on the National Parks Subcommittee which he chaired. As a freshman Member of the minority party, I doubted the extent to which I would be allowed to participate effectively in the subcommittee's work. But those doubts vanished after I got to know Phil Burton.

During the next 2 years, I had the unprecedented opportunity to work closely with the chairman on a wide variety of projects. Many of my fondest memories of my early days in Congress will be of the hours that I spent with him, working together on wild and scenic rivers bills, youth hostel programs, creation of the Martin Luther King National Historic Site and Preservation District and the Frederick Law Olmstead National Historic Site and many other park measures. I will not forget his encouragement, support, patience, and advice.

You always knew where Phil Burton stood on an issue. He could always be counted on when he promised his support. His attention to the needs of the young, inexperienced Members of this body was an indication of his leadership ability and his sensitivity to the needs of others. He worked best and most respected those who also shared and acted upon strong convictions on an issue—even if those views were opposite his own. His loyalty to his friends was absolute.

He will be missed greatly by those of us fortunate to work with him and to benefit from his friendship and guidance. Moreover, many future generations of outdoors loving Americans will be forever in his debt. I join my colleagues in mourning his passing and in expressing my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I join our colleagues on this sad occasion to pay tribute to Phil Burton.

Many able and dedicated Members have served in the Congress, but there have been few Members with the drive and persistence and dedication that characterized Phil. To Phil the choices were clear. The issues were black and white, never gray. He saw the needs—of the old, the disadvantaged, the sick—and set about meeting them.

As many have noted, he was a master of the legislative art, and a leader in every sense of the word. His style was direct and effective. And the disadvantaged were the winners.

Phil was a steward of our natural resources, although he probably never thought of it in quite that way. He realized the fragile nature of our resources and the need for insuring their protection, and set about with determination and singleness of purpose to provide that protection. The entire Nation, indeed the world, is indebted to Phil Burton for his efforts on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress needs what we often refer to as a "mover and shaker." Phil was such a man. The issues were clear, the means within his grasp, and very often the results affirmative. We will miss his sense of direction and his strong leadership.

I join in expressing my sympathy to his wife, Sala, and their family.

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, it is clear that our dear departed colleague, Phil Burton, had many, many friends here in the Congress. But, his influence and friendship with elected leaders did not stop at the steps of the Capitol. He was so active in the affairs of the

U.S. territories, for example, that his name was known by all of the island's leaders.

This is reflected in the wording of Resolution 123, which was adopted by the Guam Legislature on April 12, 1983. The members of the legislature all gathered to honor this great man who has done so much for this island and other U.S. territories.

I am honored to insert this resolution in the Record at this time so my colleagues may share in the deep sense of personal loss my constituents feel over the passing of Congresman BURTON.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION No. 123

Introduced by: C. T. C. Gutierrez, J. T. San Agustin, E. P. Arriola, J. P. Aguon, E. D. Ramsey, E. T. Charfauros, F. J. Gutierrez, M. K. Hartsock, P. C. Lujan, T. S. Nelson, D. Parkinson, J. F. Quan, F. J. Quitugua, F. R. Santos, J. F. Ada, E. R. Duenas, A. C. Lamorena III, M. D. A. Manibusan, T. V. C. Tanaka, J. H. Underwood, and A. R. Unpingco; relative to extending the condolences of the Seventeenth Guam Legislature and the people of Guam to Mrs. Phillip Burton and the Burton family upon the death of the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON.

Be it resolved by the Legislature oj the Territory of Guam:

Whereas, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON, Democratic Representative of San Francisco was born on June 1, 1926 and passed away on April 10, 1983; and

Whereas, the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON was a person who rightly deserves to be honored by the people of Guam; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON has faithfully served the people of the United States of America since February 1964, as a Member of the House of Representatives; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON was chosen by his colleagues in the House of Representatives to chair the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs in 1971; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON won approval of a new national park at Honokohau, Hawaii; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON saw to it that his territories chairmanship was passed on to Delegate A. B. Won Pat of Guam—the first nonvoting territorial delegate ever to chair a House subcommittee; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON has supported major Federal legislation toward the political and economic development of Guam, including; an act providing for an elected Governorship; an act providing for a nonvoting delegate to Congress; an act appropriating funds for the repayment of Guam's rehabilitation debt; an act authorizing Guam to write its own constitution; an act creating the War in the Pacific Park; was instrumental in continuing the operation of the ship repair facility in Guam; and an act authorizing a review of lands claims in Guam; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON has supported legislation to the benefit of the Northern Marianas, including the reunification of the Marianas, increases in the annual appropriations for the territories and various omnibus bills benefiting the territories; and

Whereas, Congressman BURTON also talked Guam officials into keeping the medical center of the Marianas open after helping obtain a Federal grant; and

Whereas, the U.S. Territories of the Pacific, located several thousand miles from the seat of government in Washington, D.C., have needed a loyal spokesman in Congress to support their cause; someone who took an active interest in the promotion of their social, economic, and political development; and

Whereas, through a period of nearly two decades, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON has served as a spokesman for the people of Guam in Washington, D.C. and has been recognized as a champion of human rights; and

Whereas, the University of Guam gave Congressman BURTON an honorary doctor-of-law degree in the May 12, 1978 commencement exercises; and

Whereas, no matter how significant these heretofore listed accomplishments may be, they are overshadowed by his devotion to his family and his country; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Seventeenth Guam Legislature does extend its condolences and heartfelt sympathy to his wife Sala, daughter Joy, and the Burton family upon the passing of this honorable man whose accomplishments have been an inspiration to all of us on this island; and be it further

Resolved, That the Speaker certify to and the Legislative Secretary attest the adoption hereof and that copies of the same be thereafter transmitted to Mrs. Phillip Burton; to the President of the United States; to the President of the U.S. Senate; to the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives; to Congressman Antonio B. Won Pat; to the Governor of California; to the mayor of San Francisco; to the Senators and Representatives from California; and to the Governor of Guam.

Duly and regularly adopted on the 12th day of April 1983.

ELIZABETH P. ARRIOLA,
Senator and Legislative Secretary.
CARL T. G. GUTIERREZ,
Speaker.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to our distinguished colleague from California, PHIL BURTON.

The passing away of PHIL BURTON is a tragic loss to me and his many other friends, on and off the Hill, who knew and loved him for what he was: An uncompromising American leader with high ideals.

As a congressional leader on liberal issues since 1964, PHIL BURTON was valued by supporters, dreaded by opponents, and respected by all his peers. More importantly, however, he will be missed by the countless millions of poor, disabled, and discriminated-against Americans who have benefited from his numerous legislative crusades. Above all his many accomplishments, PHIL BURTON will be remembered as a man who spoke for those who could not speak, providing a political voice for the otherwise voiceless.

The life of PHIL BURTON was marked by many highlights that deserve recollection and mention.

As a veteran of both World War II and the Korean war, he was admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1952. In 1956, he began his legislative career as a member of California's State Assembly and continued this career when elected a Member of Congress in 1964. From this point on, PHIL became a spokesman for the underprivileged, and a nationally recognized leader in environmental protection and labor law.

PHIL took our responsibility to this great land seriously and led many fights to promote the protection of America's natural beauty and splendor. Under the influence of his undaunted advocacy for environmental protection, the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System nearly doubled, while the wilderness acreage in the National Park System more than doubled and the size of the National Trails System more than tripled.

Among his many other legislative triumphs, PHIL can be credited with many statutory provisions designed to help the American worker.

Here are only a few examples: PHIL was an important proponent of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1970 and the author of its provisions that established a black lung compensation program. This was the first national industrial disease-related workers' compensation program, and as of this date, more than one-half million workers have directly benefited from this act.

As further examples of his concern, 6.5 million workers were extended minimum wage protection in 1966 by legislation that he drafted. In fact, more previously unprotected American workers were extended minimum wage and overtime rights by PHIL's legislation than by the legislative work of any other Member in our Nation's history.

PHIL BURTON was a friend and a legislator who won millions of workers an improvement in wage and benefit protection so that all American children could be well provided for and have the opportunity to pursue a higher education. His legislative efforts have also provided environmental protections that benefit present-day Americans just as they will benefit generations of Americans not yet born. PHIL was, in short, a man who left an indelible mark on our Nation.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to share with all of you a beautiful poem written in honor of our late colleague, PHILLIP BURTON, by Mr. Charles "Gus" Garrigus. Gus is not only a personal friend of mine and a constituent, but he is also the highly acclaimed poet laureate of the State of California.

IN MEMORIAM: PHILLIP BURTON

This is the requiem of the giant redwoods,
Great sky-crowned monarchs binding heaven to earth.
This is the tribute of the Queen Sierras,
Snow-crowned grandeur serving beauty's worth.
When valley mists roll down the wildland floors,
And eagles scream and soar past crags and peaks,
And lakes, like diamonds, sparkle in the sun,
Then shall we hear the wisdom Nature speaks.
The rushing rivers and the bowered brooks,
And all this wonderous wilderness enclave
Shall witness to the cause that BURTON served,
Shall speak the heritage he worked to save.
No stone or plaque can tell the way he went.
These National Lands shall be his monument.

Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *April 12, 1983.*

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, like many of my colleagues in the Senate and House of Representatives, I was shocked and saddened to learn of the death of Congressman PHILLIP BURTON.

PHIL BURTON was one of the most effective and hard-working Members of the House. PHIL devoted his public life to helping the disadvantaged, minorities, and those in our society least able to fend for themselves. One facet of this concern was evidenced by his efforts on behalf of the people of our territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean.

PHIL was a tireless and vocal supporter of our Nation's park system. His contributions in this regard will prove of inestimable value to future generations. His efforts to make park and recreation opportunities available to all Americans and his dedication to the preservation of wild places are well known to all of us who have had the privilege of working and serving with him over the years.

Make no mistake about it, PHIL BURTON always drove a hard legislative bargain. He skillfully pursued his legislative agenda in the Congress with a zeal and gusto that few have ever matched. And yet, Congressman PHILLIP BURTON was an honorable and forthright legislator who was driven not by thoughts of personal gain and satisfaction but by a consuming desire to honestly and effectively represent the people of his district and the Nation.

All of us who worked on an issue with PHIL could not help but be impressed with the force and conviction with which he expressed his views. None of us who knew PHIL could help but be saddened by his passing. We will all miss him very much.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, having introduced this group of visitors from the North Atlantic Assembly, I am also saddened to point out that this week the Assembly suffered a tragic loss, with the death of Congressman PHIL BURTON of California. PHIL was an adroit legislator by any standard, and he brought those skills in recent years to the service of the Atlantic Alliance, through his service as chairman of the NATO Assembly's Political Committee. He chaired that sometimes contentious group with a gruff affability that kept the trains moving and got the committee's business done. I know our European visitors here today join me in expressing deep appreciation for PHIL's service and sorrow at his passing. He will be missed by his constituents, his colleagues and by our allies.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Berry, announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 157

A resolution relative to the death of the Honorable PHILLIP BURTON, a Representative from the State of California.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the sudden and untimely death of PHIL BURTON this weekend leaves the Congress a less vibrant institution. California's Sixth District has lost an able Representative, the House of Representatives a remarkably effective legislator, and poor, hungry, and disadvantaged Americans perhaps their single most ardent and dedicated champion.

PHIL BURTON had a complex character that combined very different, even contradictory, qualities and which resisted easy capsulization.

He was a man of lofty principle, tactical wizardry, and nuts-and-bolts know-how. No one I met during my service in the House was more uncompromising in his goals and ideals or more ingenious at crafting compromises to achieve them. He could speak with profane bluntness or rarified subtlety. As a friend he was fiercely loyal; as an adversary, implacable and abrasive—and that was on one of his milder days. But if a poll were taken among both his friends and foes, he would be near the top of everyone's list.

In our memory of him, however, two things will stand out among all these complexities as stark and unambiguous.

The first was his solid record of accomplishment as a legislator. He deserved considerable credit for the reforms that made the House a more open and Democratic body in the seventies, an abiding love for the physical beauty of this Nation lay behind the landmark parks legislation that is part of his legacy. The very shape of the legislative map of California bears the imprint of his mastery of detail and political savvy in two major redistricting fights. The nature of our public laws dealing with welfare, food stamps, black lung benefits, social security, and the environment would be very different if Phil Burton had not devoted to them his considerable intellect, sound instincts and force of personality over the past 18 years.

The second quality which cuts through the contradictions was his passionate, unswerving commitment to those Americans whom power and prosperity had passed by. If you were poor or old or disabled or disenfranchised, if you could not afford a high-powered lobbyist to nurture your interests and causes in Washington, you could take comfort from the fact that Phil Burton was there working, arguing, fighting on your behalf, putting together the coalitions and forging the understandings that would make this society a fairer place in which to live.

Hubert Humphrey once wrote that the moral test of a government was not how it dealt with the privileged and the powerful; they after all could generally look out for themselves. Instead a government would be judged by "how it treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children, those who are in the twilight of life, the elderly, and those who are in life's shadows, the sick, the needy and the handicapped."

That is a fair measure for a public man as well.

For almost two decades in Congress, those were Phil Burton's special constituents. Of course, his family, his friends, and his colleagues all deeply mourn his loss. But in those other groups, too, there will be many, most of whom he never met, by whom he will be sorely missed.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution for myself and the distinguished minority leader and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Senate Resolution 109

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Honorable Phillip Burton, late a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate recesses today, it recess as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 109) was agreed to.

RECESS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move, in accordance with the previous order, and pursuant to Senate Resolution 109, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Honorable PHILLIP BURTON, late a Representative from the State of California, that the Senate now stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 6:31 p.m., the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Wednesday, April 13, 1983, at 10 a.m.

THURSDAY, *April 14, 1983.*

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. President, news of the unexpected passing of a friend and classmate always comes to us as a shock and leaves us with sobering thoughts. We learn, and experience, in tandem with our colleagues at each stage of life's continuing education. So it was when the report of Congressman PHILLIP BURTON reached me in Hawaii over the weekend. PHIL BURTON and I were Members of the class of '88, freshmen Members of the 88th Congress 20 years ago. Until I joined this body I served as president of the 88th Congress Club, while PHIL collected our dues as treasurer. Although we shared many legislative aims in the House, we worked most closely since my election to the Senate because of his chairmanship of the House National Parks and Insular Affairs Subcommittee of the Interior Committee and my membership on the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. We shared a common interest in the welfare of the people of our Pacific islands. With his well established credentials as a leader in environmental legislation he was as sensitive as I that we not make the Pacific a dumping ground for nuclear waste. He was keenly interested in Pacific island issues and spearheaded successful moves for official delegate representation in the U.S. Congress for Guam and American Samoa, and commonwealth status for the Northern Marianas. A mercurial champion of the poor, he has also left the Nation a legacy in our park systems that we are honorbound to maintain. He was an outstanding lawmaker who will be sorely missed, Mr. President. To his wife, Sala, and daughter Joy, I extend heartfelt condolences.

I ask unanimous consent that a news article written by David Shapiro on the death of the late Phillip Burton, published in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of April 11, 1983, and an editorial of April 12, 1983, from the same newspaper, be printed in the Record, so that readers of the Record may be better reminded of his accomplishments, in his memorial.

There being no objection, the materials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Apr. 11, 1983]

California Congressman Phillip Burton Dies at 56

(By David Shapiro)

Rep. Phillip Burton, D-Calif., the longtime godfather of U.S. policy in its island territories, died yesterday at St. Francis Hospital in San Francisco.

Burton 56, who last year won election to his 10th term in Congress, was admitted to the hospital late Saturday night complaining of chest pains. He died 2 hours later.

A heart attack or blood clot was the suspected cause of death, but a coroner's spokesman said "there will be no way of knowing until an autopsy today."

Burton is survived by his wife, Sala, and his daughter, Joy.

The eulogies in Congress will center on Burton's national achievements, particularly on environmental and labor issues.

A leader of House liberals, he came within one vote in 1977 of being elected majority leader—the second highest position in the House leadership. In recent years, he won passage of the biggest expansion of the National Parks system in history, and has been a point man in organized labor's fight against the Reagan administration.

But nowhere will Burton's passing be felt as much as in the U.S. territories—an invisible empire that stretches from the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean to Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands and American Samoa in the far reaches of the Pacific.

As chairman of the House territories subcommittee in the 1970's, Burton became a champion of these distant and often voiceless Americans. Through

Burton, the territories gained an important measure of power in a Congress generally indifferent to their interests.

"He was like a godfather to the island people," said Edward Pangelinan, the Northern Marianas' representative in Washington. "Despite his national responsibilities, Phil took it upon himself to be the spokesman for the island people. We are going to miss him—his leadership, his warmth and his generous heart."

In the last decade, Burton won commonwealth status for the Northern Marianas, representation in Congress for Guam, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa, and struggled to assure that territories benefited from the full range of Federal, social, and economic programs available to other Americans.

A master parliamentarian, Burton could often be found on the House floor quietly slipping through bills that exempted the territories from new Federal taxes, forgave loans to the islands and swept aside Federal trade barriers that hampered local development.

Burton's affinity for the islands even extended to Hawaii, a fully represented State where he had no official responsibilities.

In 1980, he won approval of a new national historical park at Honokohau—a project that Hawaii's congressional delegates had tried to get for years, without success. And in 1980, he played a key role in ordering a Federal study of native Hawaiians' land claims against the Government.

Burton had to give up his territorial post in 1980, when labor leaders prevailed upon him to focus on the Education and Labor Committee, where he could help fend off Reagan's agenda for changing U.S. labor law.

But Burton saw to it that his territories chairmanship was passed on to Delegate A. B. Won Pat of Guam—the first nonvoting territorial delegate ever to chair a House subcommittee. And Burton continued to play a major behind-the-scenes role on island issues.

Just last month he announced plans to fight major provisions in the Reagan administration's proposed compact to grant semiindependence to the Micronesian states, claiming the Micronesians were being shortchanged.

Won Pat, who has built his political career around his close ties to Burton, called Burton's death "a crushing blow for me personally, and for the territories."

"Congressman Burton was one of our most powerful allies in Congress," Won Pat said. "He was tremendously helpful in bringing millions of dollars in additional Federal aid to Guam. We will have to work even harder to fill the void left by the death of this remarkable man."

Hawaii Representative Cecil Heftel today recalled the San Francisco lawmaker's concern for Hawaii.

"Congressman Phil Burton was a great friend of Hawaii and a source of leadership and inspiration to me," Heftel said. "It was to him I turned to for guidance when there was a threat to Hawaii's sugar industry and the jobs it provides for Hawaii's people.

"The Nation and the Congress will miss him. But, most of all, the people of his district and of Hawaii will feel the loss of this truly great and compassionate leader."

Burton's intense interest in island affairs was not without controversy.

In 1980, many local leaders became incensed when Burton injected himself into hot congressional races in Guam, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa.

In Guam, where Democrat Won Pat was facing a tough challenge from Republican Tony Palomo, Burton suggested that Congress might become less generous with Guam if Won Pat were defeated. As an example of what could happen. Burton cited a loss in Federal aid suffered by the Virgin Islands after Republican Del. Melvin Evans had replaced DeLugo.

Burton's statements brought cries of outrage from Republicans in both territories, who accused him of using bullying tactics to interfere in local affairs. But Burton won on both fronts when Won Pat handily defeated Palomo, and DeLugo won his rematch against Evans.

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[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Apr. 12, 1983, Editorial]

Phillip Burton

Over the last decade or so, a California congressman made a reputation for himself as an authority on the United States' island territories. He was Phillip Burton, who died Sunday at age 56.

Most Members of Congress have little interest in and less knowledge of the problems of the territories. Certainly there is little political profit for them in such issues.

That was true of Burton, too, but as chairman of the House Territories subcommittee he made himself an expert on island affairs and a champion of their interests. He gave up his chairmanship in 1980 to focus on the Education and Labor Committee, but maintained an influential role behind the scenes.

Burton was a liberal Democrat with interests in labor and environmental issues who came within one vote of being elected House majority leader in 1977. But in Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory he will be remembered as the Congressman who appreciated and fought for the interests of the territories in the face of widespread apathy.

Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, I rise today to express my shock and deep sorrow at the news of the death of my friend and colleague, Congressman Phillip Burton of California.

Phil Burton was widely recognized as one of the toughest and shrewdest among us in the U.S. Congress—and he was. He was a master at the art of getting things done, sometimes even at the cost of some of the parliamentary niceties. But yet, I will always remember this tough, blunt man as one of the very first to befriend a green freshman Congressman in 1975. I learned a great deal from Phil Burton, particularly about the qualities of leadership.

When the chips were down, when the going was tough, that is when Phil Burton could be counted on to be in the forefront on the side of minorities, the poor, in fact, all of the disadvantaged in society.

No one man has done more during the past decade for the protection of our national parks and wilderness. The people of Massachusetts, and particularly my home town of Lowell, Mass., will always remember his central and critical role in the establishment of the Lowell National Park.

Mr. President, others will catalog the almost endless string of accomplishments which have marked Phil Burton's public service more articulately than I can. I want simply to join with all of my colleagues in the Senate and the Congress in mourning the loss of this great man.

APPENDIXES

Memorial Tribute

TO

Phillip Burton

AND

Benjamin S. Rosenthal

Monday, June 27, 1983

STATUARY HALL

THE CAPITOL

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO PHILLIP BURTON AND BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1983

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

The tribute commenced at 6 p.m., at Statuary Hall, the Capitol, Hon. Robert W. Kastenmeier, presiding.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I am Bob Kastenmeier, and on behalf of the sponsors of this Memorial Tribute to Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton, I would like to thank you all for coming.

There have been many things said and written in the past months about Ben and Phil, brilliant and touching eulogies, analyses and recounts of their past public contributions. It is not our purpose tonight to restate all that, but rather to provide an opportunity for old friends, admirers, to freely come together and to briefly remember these two marvelous people.

Ben and Phil, we are convinced, would have wanted it that way; even, for example, rather than have the National Symphony provide the music, they would have preferred Dave Obey and Holum and Scott Lilly and Severson.

Dave Obey is the one over there from Wisconsin who is almost ensconced in Senator Robert La Follette's arms. But Ben and Phil would have preferred this music reminiscent of their own times.

I have a formal request to make to my friends on the dais and those who will speak later, and that is, in fact, to comply with the spirit of the one-minute rule of the House. I say that knowing it is a difficult, yet necessary request to make of bright and caring people who could say a great deal more, I am sure.

At this moment, what I would like to do is to introduce a few people. First of all, I would like to introduce Lila Rosenthal.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. And I would like to introduce also, not only Edward and Debbie Rosenthal, but all the family and friends who came from New York, the relatives, especially, for this occasion. Would you all stand, please?

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Next I would like to introduce a person who will be well known in these Chambers, if not already. She is a person I am sure that Phil would have been very proud of. She has achieved a remarkable victory last week and on tomorrow many of us will honor her at the swearing in ceremony in the House Chambers. I would like to introduce Member-elect, Sala Burton.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Also, of course, Phil's two brothers; one we know so well, our friend, John Burton, who served with us so nobly in years past, and brother, Robert, as well. John, Robert?

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. On behalf of the sponsors, I want to make an additional acknowledgment, even at the risk of detracting from the proceeding, but that is to state that some of us—Ab Mikva, others who thought of this occasion some time ago—are especially indebted to the one person who put it together. Without his driving force, his organizing ability, we would not be meeting here tonight. I would like to acknowledge that fact to Don Edwards. Don, we are very grateful.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Well, I would like to share just a couple of remembrances myself, if I may. Both Ben and Phil were among the closest friends I will have ever had on this Earth. I knew them in the entire span of their service, both about 20 years. I remember them when they came; I knew of them before they got here.

I remember when Ben was elected to replace Lester Holtzman, we knew he was coming down. We knew that Phil from some of the old line Democrats the enfant terrible of San Francisco was coming, and he did come indeed.

In Phil's case, we were early close personal friends, our families were. I remember one event that happened very early before he really got to know the rest of my family. Dorothy and our son, Bill, in 1964, not yet 5 years old, was accompanying his mother to the Visitor's Gallery above the floor of the House when Phil Burton came along and kissed Dorothy on the cheek, greeted her, whereupon little Bill looked up at him and said, "Hey, what's the big idea?"

Which—well, actually Bill got to know Phil a lot better since that time, but for a lot of other people who in the intervening years have raised the question of Phil Burton, "Hey, what's the big idea?" Some of them were among the mine operators, the timber chieftains, and even some of our colleagues, Republican members from California have often asked Phil, "Hey, what's the big idea?" But Phil prevailed.

Obviously my memories of Phil go way back to that period that we have between work and dinner at night when, patient wives permitting, we often would get together many, many evenings.

But in terms of Ben Rosenthal, Ben and I had similar situations. Here, small families, and decided to settle in the Washington area. We often were able to vacation together at the Breakers, Boca Raton. He came to Madison to participate on a crucial and very early hearing on Vietnam in 1965. I have always appreciated that.

One of the more memorable things happened late, after, in fact, Ben became ill. It was an event I recall because he often delighted in it. We were to attend the wedding of two of our dearest friends, Don and Edie, at Martha's Vineyard. It was a lovely weekend, the last weekend in the summer, in September 1981.

Actually, Ab and Zoe Mikva, Dorothy and myself had arrived on Friday. Ab and Zoe were put off in one framehouse, and Dorothy and I went down to the home that the Rosenthals and we would share for that beautiful weekend, the Ames house, as a matter of fact.

The following morning I picked Ben and Lila up at the airport. As we were going through the Seven Gates Farm, Ben was just delighted, so impressed that we went down the winnowing road, and he said with a sort of boyish grin, "Do you think we are the first Jewish people ever to be invited here?"

I looked at him very seriously and said, "No, Ben, the Mikvas, yesterday." But he often recounted the fact that that was an experience he would have liked to have relived, the beautiful weather, the beautiful event, which he remembered because in his last 2 years, he was very upbeat. He was able to cope with his illness. He regarded it as an aggravation.

In any event, those were a couple of memories I have. They are among many I have of my two friends.

We have another friend I would like to introduce to you, one many of you know who was among us for many years. He comes from the Upper Middle West, from a cool weather area. He is the mayor of Minneapolis, our friend, Don Fraser.

COMMENTS OF HON. DONALD M. FRASER, MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

Mr. FRASER. Sala, Lila, members of the Burton and Rosenthal family, colleagues and friends, it is cold in Minneapolis. I was stranded at an airport for 2 hours waiting to go to San Francisco for Phil's services, but one of those extraordinary events occurred in Minnesota. We had a blizzard, and that airplane never did take off.

I am delighted to be here today. In a way, it is nice that this occasion occurred some time after the event because the immediate pain, I think, has eased and the grief has abated somewhat, perhaps more for some than for others.

The recollections that I bring are not comprehensive, they are personal. Ben was a fierce scold when we were late for paddleball, but we worked together to begin the first congressional exchange with the European Parliament, and we shared common concerns about U.S. policy toward the Greek Junta as seatmates on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Ben's very deep and personal interest in the subject of human rights was a critical element of support to enable our committee to make progress in writing human rights standards into human rights law.

Phil was outraged when we appointed a nominating committee of the Democratic Study Group for the next chairman. He thought it was stacked. In fact, the committee split down the middle. We had an open election, the first one in the history of the Democratic Study Group, and, of course, Phil won handily.

It was that campaign which showed how effective he could be, a foretaste, I think, of his near victory as majority leader.

Phil was also the critical difference in gaining protection for an area very dear to our family, the only canoe wilderness in the United States. It needed protection against motorized travel and logging in order to preserve the beauty and solitude for future generations. Phil provided the essential help to bring those protections into law.

Ben and Phil were very different, but they shared a common philosophy that brought "the group," as we called ourselves, a common political philosophy which brought us together. It was a philosophy invigorated by the optimism that most of us shared after World War II, that indeed a better world was within reach; and at its center was the acceptance of a claim for more justice by men and women everywhere, the rightness of the claim to be free of poverty and economic oppression, to be assured of due process under law, and to fully and freely participate in choosing one's own government.

Much as they would growl or grumble about the limitations of the legislative process, they did share an optimism about what government could do for people. They had a deep respect for their constituents even as they entertained us with stories of the foibles and demands of individual citizens. Their optimism was not misplaced.

During their political careers, this planet changed for the better; 100 nations became free and independent, many new international organizations are now quietly and effectively at work, and a new conservation ethic has taken hold across this planet.

Here at home, we have seen major gains in economic and racial justice. The rights of women are being recognized, and in my opinion our freedoms today are more secure than ever before. We do remain with the challenges of the nuclear sword of Damocles as we witness growing nuclear arsensals, and the increasing difficulty of governing as national economies become more interdependent.

But for many of us, the optimism of Ben and Phil and their commitment to a fuller measure of justice point the way. They were two good friends who worked to make this a better world. We miss them terribly.

It was a joy to have known and worked with them: We shall honor them by carrying on the struggle, and I know they would both be delighted that Sala will be in the forefront of that struggle. Because we loved them and shared with them, we will carry on.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now I would like to present a dear friend of both Ben's and Phil's who serves now with great distinction in the Judicial Branch, having served here in the House for many years. There are those who say he could serve equally well in the Executive Branch, but others say, "No; if recent years are any guide, no one is able to serve with distinction in the Executive Branch."

Notwithstanding even the redress of the courts the other day, in terms of the legislative veto decision, I am pleased to present Ab Mikva.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. ABNER MIKVA

Judge MIKVA. Thank you, Bob. Lila, Sala, friends all, Phil and Ben were Democrats, they were liberals, they were here for approximately the same time; and yet they weren't political twins. Ben was lean and thought the center of the universe was New York City, or more specifically, the Queens. Phil was not so lean, and his center of the universe was Washington, D.C., or San Francisco or Guam or Samoa or the Redwood Forests, or wherever he was operating that fabulous political road show that he took out.

Ben's eyes would light up when he would see a member of the media come near because he always assumed that he had an ally in the struggle against the forces of evil. Phil's eyes would narrow when the media approached. At best, he suspected a neutral who didn't care one way or the other and, at worst, he figured it might be a plant from the enemy.

So, as a result, you could always read Ben's ads in the Washington Post and the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor almost daily. Phil was always described as the powerful, mysterious force of liberalism whose modus operandi was shadowy and closed door.

But they were more alike than different. Both were "good-doers" who had no patience with "do-gooders" who settled for glorious defeats. Phil and Ben both loved to win. They expected to win. They knew how to win. They knew how to forge coalitions of idealists, of pragmatists, of conservatives and liberals, of amateurs and professionals. They knew how to count and they respected the politics of majorities.

No, they were never comfortable as members of the loyal opposition; they always aspired to win their fight. They suffered defeat badly. And they had no patience with the passionless performance of others who couldn't understand how winning was better.

They understood winning and losing, and they knew the difference between the two. And they didn't appreciate standoffs and ties and "no contests." They were passionate players in the game, the national game of country; and on the liberal side of the aisle, that kind of player is in very short supply.

Thomas Jefferson said that the love of country should come above all minor passions, and he added that the man who loves his country on its own account and not merely for its trappings of influence or power can never be divorced from it. And so we can expect Ben to continue to pace the back rail of the House, cigar in hand, and Phil to continue to prowl the cloakroom and the aisle as if they are still hustling votes for that next great cause; and we, their survivors, their heirs, can only wish that they were still here as patriots in the flesh.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. And now that giant from California, our colleague, George Miller.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. GEORGE MILLER, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM CALIFORNIA

Mr. MILLER. I was delighted to be asked to be part of this tribute this evening, not because we honor our colleagues or because we honor legislators, but because we honor men of passion. Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton were men of passion. I first met Phil Burton in 1969, although I had heard about him all of my life. He and my father had gone back in politics some time.

He was standing in the grand ballroom of the Fairmont Hotel talking to the operators of the maritime trades and the tugboats and explaining to them what a great man George Miller the third was, and how he would be a great State legislator.

My father had just died, and I was seeking his seat in the Senate. These people were doubting that a 23-year-old law school dropout was a person the Democratic Party should be supporting. He reminded them that when my father supported him, that is what they said about him.

He went around the crowd and said, "You have to help, you have to do it, we are in a special election, the balance of the Senate is at stake." He started grabbing at their wallets. He said, "You have to give me money for this kid, Miller. He is going to be great." He went from person to person in this group. I was standing inside the group, and he turned to me and said, "Now what are you going to do for young Miller?"

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. I said, "Congressman Burton, I am George Miller." He never did give me the money.

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. You know, Phil had a passionate commitment to the truth and maybe that is what caused him, the moment the votes arrived, to abolish the HUAC Committee in the first Congress that I served here. It was the same passion of commitment to the truth that had him call my office late one night and say, "Come down here, kid, come down here." I said, "Phil, I have to go home." He said, "Come down here, kid."

I went down there. He was sitting in the office, shoes off. I said, "What do you want, what do you want?" He was sitting in that large chair shuffling papers. He said, "Nothing, nothing, nothing." I said, "Phil, I have to go home."

A lot of us pleaded this way with Phil from time to time. He said, "Just stay here." Finally, the phone rang, "Hey, Love. Yes, yes, Love. I am just here with the kid going over a few things. I will be there in a minute." He hung up.

I said, "Phil, what do you want?" He said, "I didn't want to tell her again that I was with you and not have you be here."

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. It is only his death that gives me the courage to tell that story to Sala.

We all know of his commitment to the environment, the strip mining legislation, the tripling of the parks, the adding of more acreage than any of us had ever conceived and never stopping that fight. It wasn't just to make America green, it wasn't just to allow a great place for our children to live. He thought those fights on the environment, whether it was clean air or whether, in our State, it was the water fight between the small farmers and the large farmers. It wasn't just justice that motivated him.

After some 10 years of my struggle in the fight on water law for the small farmers, and Phil's fight of 25 or 30 years, and Mo Udall getting it through the committee, he again called me to his office. He was sitting there, drink in hand, shoes off, and said, "That was great, wasn't it?" I see Howard Metzenbaum, in the audience tonight, who made it possible in conference. Phil said, "Don't you just love screwing those bastards?"

[Laughter.]

[Applause.]

Mr. MILLER. And I said, "Yes." He said, "No; I mean really, don't you love it? Don't you love it?"

And the lesson he taught me when I first became chairman of the Labor Committee and moved a bill out of committee. He came roaring at me and wanted to know why. I said, "We had to do it. I don't know." I started getting weak-kneed. He started screaming and pointing at me. He said, "Why are you doing this, why are you doing this?"

I fell back on what I thought would make Phil happy. I said, "Because labor wants me to." He said, "Don't you ever forget, they don't always know what is good for them."

[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. What we really have are people of passion. Whether it was Phil waving the club of that legislative instinct knowing this process or whether it was Ben waving that subpena at both the cameras and victims at the same time and getting them to understand they were going to have to come to the bar of justice.

What we really have are two people who really didn't want liberals wearing their feelings on their sleeves or on the bumpers of their cars. What they wanted to come to Congress were people, as Phil said, whose bodies roared at the injustice of our time and who had a sense of urgency and a sense of outrage.

Maybe it is something for all of us to reflect on, those of us who hold public office and those who are seeking higher office in this country, that sense of outrage and the roaring at the injustice.

Finally, let me say that they were also two human beings. Phil telling me after my first victory on the women's, infants and children's feeding program in 1975 that I earned my year's salary. I thought what compliment, coming in my first year in Congress. Then he turned to me again and said, "Don't you forget, you have to earn it every year;" and Ben who became "Uncle Ben" to me and to Tom Downey and to a whole group of us, after returning from a hectic trip from the refugee camps of Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam, in a dark airplane, coming home, started explaining to us, as young Members of Congress, the importance of paddleball and the importance of our friends and the need to cultivate both, assuring us that the longer we stayed here, we would find what an important role they would play in getting us through life crises.

Tonight is a tribute to the fact that both of them were able to do that.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, George.

Now, I would like to present a national figure, one of the few people who deserves to run for President but is not, who just indeed celebrated one of the nationally significant birthdays only last week or so and who, along with the two people we honor tonight—I don't know what this means to those who believe in signs—shares a June birth date, with both Phil Burton and Ben Rosenthal.

I would like to present Mo Udall.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. MORRIS K. UDALL, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ARIZONA

Mr. UDALL. This is a sad occasion for all of us, but there is a sense of joy and happiness in honoring the lives of these two very great men. I was telling John Burton on the way over here that we both have had the brother problem, over the years, of becoming distinguished from our brothers.

A minister who was new in a small town, where a man had died, opened the service with a hymn and a couple of scripture readings. Then he said, "Now, I, the minister, have only been here about 3 weeks. All the people here in this community have lived with the deceased for all these years. Would one of you get up and tell us a few good things about his life, his achievements?"

There was silence. He said, "I am appalled. I understand for 40 years you have lived in this community. Surely someone can tell us one good word or one good thing about him."

An old man got up, shuffled his feet a little bit and said, "Reverend, he was mean and no good, but I have to say this: His brother was worse."

[Laughter.]

Mr. UDALL. The Burton brother act made a good record here in Washington, and it is a sad situation that we don't have Phil anymore. But we have Sala, and we are glad of that. She is a great American and legislator in her own right. We are expecting very great things from her.

Phil and I had a conversation just a few months ago in which he said "I am undoubtedly the classic candidate for a coronary in the whole Congress." He said he hadn't exercised in 40 years, drank, smoked, had stress and high blood pressure.

I told him about Churchill who being chided for being 50 pounds overweight and never exercising said, "My friend, I get my exercise acting as a pallbearer at the funerals of my athletic friends."

Maybe it doesn't work that way because Ben Rosenthal was about as regular at the gym as anybody in this group. Ben and Phil, two exceptional men. I guess I knew Phil somewhat better. Service on the committees in the House is where you get to know the Members well. Phil and I served on the Interior Committee under the dominance of Wayne Aspinall who worshipped the regular order, which some of us thought to excess.

Phil's approach was more like old Senator Hayden from Arizona who said, "Why take the time making speeches when you got the votes?" Or he said, "No one ever got beat by a speech he didn't make," and that was similar to Phil Burton's approach, although he could be tremendously powerful as an orator when he wanted to several times a year.

A few weeks before Phil died, I was telling some colleagues who were gathered behind the rail to get the straight information, about Phil's latest creative shortcut to legislation. It is like the loaves and fishes. He took a one-line bill and turned it into 35 pages of technical and conforming amendments that established seven national parks, and Lord only knows how many game refuges and all of the rest.

As I was telling this to a colleague, Phil walked up and listened a minute. He said, "Seriously, Mo, just judge me by my results." And I think by that test or any other, he rated very high.

I like what George Miller said. "I judge a man or woman in politics by what they care for, what they are willing to run risks for, what they are willing to take criticism for," and by that test, George Miller has said so well, "these men rate very high."

Phil was sometimes compared to President Lyndon Johnson who once demanded that his aides work over a draft of a speech. He said, "I want you to rewrite this and put stuff in there that makes me sound damned humble." Well, the hallmark of Lyndon Johnson and the hallmark of Phil Burton were much the same.

I think many of the people in this room might wonder what the country would have been like if Phil had had one more vote in that majority leader's race. But the hallmark of Lyndon Johnson and Phil Burton was that they sought power and did it avidly, but they sought it to do good and not for selfish reasons.

Phil could sense what a key difference in a conference committee was and would come roaring in with that awesome presence to find where the bill was hung up and find a way around it. I used to watch in awe and admiration as he put together some new "outrage," that was a strange coalition that would give food stamps to people in San Francisco and New York and price supports for midwestern farmers.

Ben Rosenthal came to Congress the same time as I. We were coming out of the fifties, being involved in Vietnam, the environmental crisis that was upon us, and the whole revolution in civil rights. His style was much different from that of Phil Burton. And yet, in a way, there was a common denominator; and it was effectiveness and results.

Ben wanted a consumer protection agency and should have had it by any standard of fairness. He was good for the country, and it was needed. But having lost that battle, he went back to work and in a real sense he won protection for the little people in our society. We never got a consumer protection agency, but Ben was there to go after the sharp piece in our society who overcharged senior citizens for drugs and rent and ripped off by all kinds of people in this society.

He was a strong force for justice and fairness and for the protection of Israel in the critical Middle East. Ben could be abrasive, but he could also be gentle. He had that rare combination, gentleness in personal dealings and absolute fearlessness in public policy battles. You never wondered where this upfront legislator stood. He was always there.

There are 435 of us in the House. We labor in obscurity most of the time. I suppose most of the House Members at one time or the other lust for the bright lights that the television cameras have on the other body down at the other end of the building. On some occasion they go home and run for Governor, but most of them who run those risks frequently lose.

But we draw the same pay, and we have the same jurisdictions. The House has to pass a bill, as well as the Senate, to make a law. In a way, over the years, the House has become what Sam Rayburn called the forge of democracy. This is where the work is done, the extensive committee hearings, the ripening of the legislation for final action. In a conference committee you nearly always see people like Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton who have the expertise of getting the job done. Just a few people, my House colleagues in my time, have resisted the lure of the Senate or the governorship.

The minute you are in the House, mastering this institution, you realize this is a difficult job. I think of people like Dick Bolling, John Rhodes of Arizona, and Tip O'Neill. I call them men of the House. Ben and Phil, two individuals so different in style, both earned that title. Their impact on public policy and on this institution will be felt for a long time to come.

So, today, to the two men of America, two men of the House, we say goodby from this institution they served so well. Ben and Phil, will miss you, but to paraphrase a line from Speaker Willie Brown of California, if heaven needs a consumer protection agency or needs redistricting, these guys are already on the job.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Mo.

Brother Obey, if the Capitol Offenses are ready, we will hear another tune.

Mr. OBEY. We have one song we think both Ben and Phil would have liked, and we know that you know. We would like you to sing along.

[A musical selection was played by the Capitol Offenses.]

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you.

That was a stirring rendition.

Our next segment will be made up of you in the audience. A number of individuals have expressed an interest in speaking briefly, and I would like to call on, if he is present—hopefully he is—Senator Ted Kennedy.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF HON. EDWARD M. KENNEDY, A SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much.

Members of the Burton and Rosenthal families: Ben and Phil were very different men, but very much alike in their tireless pursuit of the causes of decency in our land, the causes of social justice, and a peaceful world. Phil was an expert legislator of enormous depth and compassion and decency, a person who never hesitated to tell you when he thought you were wrong; and if he thought you weren't listening, he never hesitated to raise his voice to make a point.

Ben was a good friend to my brother, Bob, and a valued friend of mine. I think all of those who served with them realize that there were not two stronger fighters in our generation in the Congress of the United States.

Their marks in history are recognized by their colleagues, and this Nation is a better land because of their lives and because of their commitments and their dedication.

I grew up in a family that believed and was taught that individuals can make a difference, and each of us should try; and I am sure there are many times when we ask ourselves, "What kind of a difference do we really make?" But I can't think of two Members of Congress that have really made a greater difference for the people in our country, for the causes of social justice, and for peace throughout the world.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Ted.

Next we have two people actually, one who has been mentioned several times already, Don Edwards and Doris Lumpkins. They are going to do something, I gather, together, which is especially meaningful.

COMMENTS OF HON. DON EDWARDS, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM CALIFORNIA, ACCOMPANIED BY DORIS B. LUMPKINS

Mr. EDWARDS. Thank you, Bob. Doris Lumpkins is at the other mike. She is my assistant and she arranged the paddleball and tennis games. Doris, tell us what would Ben Rosenthal's first words be on the telephone?

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Rosenthal never pronounced my name right. He always called me "Daaris." He would say, "I am going out of my mind in this crazy place. I need a paddleball game."

One day I asked Mr. Rosenthal, "Do you gamble at paddleball?" He said, "Daaris, when either Bill Lehman or Don Edwards is my partner, it is not gambling, we lose."

Mr. EDWARDS. I see Mayor Don Fraser of Minneapolis is here. Tell us about him and Mr. Rosenthal.

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Rosenthal really liked to play with Don Fraser. He said Fraser was always on time, not like Mr. Kastenmeier.

One morning I told Mr. Rosenthal that Mr. Fraser couldn't play because he was meeting with the National Democratic Reform Commission. Mr. Rosenthal said, "Daaris, call him again. One more Fraser-McGovern reform and there will be no tennis players at the next convention."

Mr. EDWARDS. Doris, what did Ben Rosenthal say when you told him Judge Mikva couldn't play because the court was in session?

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Rosenthal would say, "Daaris, phone him anyway. All he will do is get reversed by the Supreme Court."

Mr. EDWARDS. Now, Doris, this is all very poignant. Where did Bob Kastenmeier fit in?

Ms. LUMPKINS. Mr. Kastenmeier is and was always a key member of the athletic group. One day when Mr. Kastenmeier said he couldn't play because he was meeting with the Institute for Policy Studies, Mr. Rosenthal said, "Daaris, call him again. All they are doing is planning for Obey and Kastenmeier to meet with Arafat next week."

Mr. EDWARDS. Thank you, Doris.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Obey joins me in saying I should hope not.

Next I would like to call on a distinguished member of the Greek community, Mr. Elias Demetracopoulos.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF ELIAS P. DEMETRACOPOULOS

Mr. DEMETRACOPOULOS. When fate brought me together with Ben Rosenthal in 1971, it was not the best of times for either of us. My country, Greece, was in the fifth year of a military dictatorship. Two American Governments had shown their indifference to this betrayal of a NATO democracy.

Ben Rosenthal was neither knowledgeable about Greece nor especially interested in it. But when he became chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe, one of the first calls he received was from Don Edwards, who did know the Greek problem, and who pressed Ben Rosenthal to do something. Ben was deeply involved with opposition to the Vietnam war and with his consumer legislation. He did not need another issue but Don Edwards was a friend with a just cause.

That friendship did not, by itself, restore Greek Democracy but it brought Ben Rosenthal into the fight.

Over the opposition of the State and Defense Departments, against the wishes of his Greek-American constituents, and despite the indifference and sometimes hostility of colleagues, Ben became the American conscience for Greece in the Congress. His subcommittee held hearings for 4 consecutive years. If the dictatorship had lasted another year, Ben Rosenthal would have persisted also another year.

He exposed the hypocrite, goaded the complacent, and challenged the conventional and the convenient.

He was a man who did not give up a just fight, no matter what the opposition, no matter who asked him. History proved him right on Greece. He has no replacement.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Our friend, Evelyn Dubrow.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF EVELYN DUBROW

Ms. DUBROW. Sala, Lila, family, I first met Phil Burton when some friends were giving me a birthday party, and Phil's first day in Congress. He came with Torby McDonald, an unlikely pair of people. At this party, Andy Biemiller and I were standing together. Phil came over. He let us know that he didn't intend to be a docile freshman Congressman. He was going to do this, that, and the other thing.

We looked at each other and mentally both said, "Oy vez, look at that freshman Member of the House." We didn't think they were allowed to talk until they made their maiden speeches. I didn't know why it was called that, but that was it.

You know the funny thing about it, everything Phil said he was going to do that freshman year, he did. I think he did it because people understood that he was motivated with the spirit that really cared, and even when John McCormack got mad at him or Carl Albert got mad at him, they never indicated that they didn't think he was a sincere and honest and decent person.

Phil couldn't bluff. I used to play poker with him. He just couldn't bluff.

His face would tell you that he was trying to pull something, and he never got away with it. I can tell you that even now when I stand outside the door, I miss Phil coming through those doors and saying, "Listen, you got to do this," to all of us in the labor corps, and as I think someone said, Phil didn't hesitate to tell us when he thought those of us who represented labor were wrong. Many times he was right and we were wrong, but sometimes the shoe was on the other foot.

But I can only say this about Phil in the short time I have: First of all I am so glad Sala is going to be in Congress.

[Applause.]

Ms. DUBROW. I never knew Phil Burton when he didn't respect her opinion and ask for her advice. To me, that was a true, democratic person who understood that there was no gender gap in his family.

Ben Rosenthal was a different type of person, but just as determined, just as sure that he was right when he was making the fight. I can remember going to committee meetings when the committee chairman would try to shut him up, and he couldn't. When Ben Rosenthal thought he had a point, he could shout louder than the committee chairman.

The other thing I think I would like to remember about Ben Rosenthal is he was such a warm human being. A lot of people didn't get to know him perhaps as well as those of us who came from the New York area and knew him well; but never did he hesitate to let you talk with him. He understood. He might say "You are all wet," but he permitted you to make your point.

I can tell you this about both of these men that Congress is the richer because they were both there. Congress is the poorer because they are not there now. But I think that if either one of them were here to tell us, they would say, "Go ahead, give them hell, do your job, and stick up for what you believe in because we think that the Congress of the United States is still the most important body in this country."

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now a distinguished writer, Milton Viorst.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF MILTON VIORST

Mr. VIORST. Ben Rosenthal and I came to the heady world of political Washington at about the same time, he as a freshman Congressman, I as a newspaperman. We had pretty much the same background and the same ideals, and maybe even the same insecurities, and we became good friends, not just political friends, which is a special Washington phenomenon, but real friends, so that even when we later disagreed over politics, we still worried about each others' kids and aging parents and health.

My wife Judy and I loved Ben, though, God knows he was sometimes a pain, and we grieved, as we watched his physical robustness abandon him. But his spirit did not abandon him nor his zest for life nor his warmth toward his friends, nor his dignity, nor courtesy, nor his determination to make every moment meaningful in the pursuit of the goals that were central to his political life.

Judy and I mourn the Ben who became a major force for good in our country, but we also miss feeding him coffee ice cream. We miss the boat Ben had one year at Rehoboth which we named the "Gefilte fish." We miss the ping pong games in the basement.

Judy called Ben a "professional diamond in the rough." For more than 20 years he was a gem in our lives.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now I would like to call on Kenny Young. Is he here? Kenny might well have been playing with the group. He sometimes does.

COMMENTS OF KENNETH YOUNG

Mr. YOUNG. Phil and Ben came from opposite ends of the country, but their interests were the same: advancing and protecting the welfare of workers, consumers, minorities, the jobless, the poor, and the environment. We in the labor movement knew them as our friends and allies in the struggle to secure a more responsive Government, but lobbying Phil and Ben was never easy.

The lobbyist usually was lobbied, certainly was lectured, and in Phil's case, the hours were often hazardous. In fact, Phil was so "good," that there were many times when he told the Members of the House labor's position before he came out the doors and told those of us waiting outside.

You always knew where Phil and Ben stood on every issue. I can't remember a time when my head count book listed them as undecided. They would say they were always right, and they almost always were. Trade unionists from New York to California are going to miss them. There are too few defenders of the people at the bottom of the economic ladder, too few elected officials who consistently stand up and fight for those people who really have no voice. Their advocacy in terms of a better and fairer society will never leave us.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Now a distinguished journalist, Marty Tolchin.

COMMENTS OF MARTY TOLCHIN

Mr. TOLCHIN. I was sitting at my desk in the newsroom in New York almost precisely 10 years ago when my phone rang, and a voice I knew, but not that well, said, "Hey, kid, I hear you are coming down to Washington; and I said, "Well, Ben, I don't know, we are not planning any trips. He said, "No, no, I hear you are going to be transferred down here." That was the first that I had heard that Sue and the kids and I would be moved down to Washington.

In a sense, it was typical of Ben in a number of ways. First of all, Ben reached out to a lot of people, especially reporters, and he was a giver. He knew what was going on. He didn't mind sharing it with you. As a matter of fact, he revelled in sharing it with you.

And I think that is why reporters, among other people, like Ben Rosenthal so much, not because he was liberal, as most of us were, and not because a lot of us shared the same birth place, but because he related to us on a very human basis and he considered it part of his job to tell us what was happening even occasionally against his own interests.

I recall Ben very often when I got a news analysis of a review—a weak piece arrived, and he was one of the people in this room whom I would call, and he was always on target; he was sometimes painfully candid, and I remember asking him about the ABSCAM defendants. I said, "Ben, what in the world do these people have in common," the House Members who were indicted and eventually convicted in the ABSCAM case? He said, "Well, kid, you never see any of them in the House gym." He said, "they just don't play paddleball."

We got to know Ben and Lila pretty well. We even induced them to come up to visit us on Wellfleet one summer. Of course, we saw them here in Washington.

I also remember one evening when they came to dinner and Ben, who could be irascible and had a pixy sense of humor, looked at my array of liquor and noted that they were all house brands. I didn't have a bottle of Johnnie Walker or anything else. I had Chevy Chase liquor. He said, "You know, kid, this is just not appropriate to you in your station in life." At 9 o'clock the next morning, Sue and I were still in bed. The door bell rang. And there was Ben on the door step with a small bottle of Johnnie Walker, and he said, "Lila said I had to bring this over."

Ben and I talked about our kids. He was extraordinarily proud of Edward and Debbie and had remarkable faith in their judgment. There are many times now, and it happened only yesterday, when I am on deadline, trying to figure something out, and I wish there was Ben Rosenthal I could call up and say, "Hey, Ben, what does it all mean." And he would tell me.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Is our former colleague, Ed Derwinski, here? I know he is.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF ED DERWINSKI

Mr. DERWINSKI. Lila and Sala, my friends, it is a pleasure for me to participate in this program, but evidently it is my burden to serve as the token Republican. Given the commendations all of you have painted as to the political tendencies of Ben and Phil, I think it is fair to say they would have appreciated the political ratio between Democrats and Republicans.

Both of them were good personal friends. Ben was always very, very gracious in allowing Republicans to join him in committee views, especially, of course, when we agreed with him 100 percent. All of my California friends told me that Phil was extremely gracious to Republicans except on occasions of drawing congressional boundary lines.

I had the pleasure, as a Member, of junketing with Ben and found him a very, very effective Member in the sense that he was always effective in properly representing our national interests abroad. I recall the bipartisan delegations we were in which met heads of state. It was always Ben who made the effective point of clarifying U.S. foreign policy.

I also traveled with Phil to NATO parliamentary conferences. For the last 2 years, there were pleasant surprises with Mr. Mitterrand in the French Government. Many people have been taking credit for Mr. Mitterrand's attitude toward the United States. They don't know he was motivated by fear of Ben, more so fear of Phil. That accounts for the French adjustment.

But speaking in the nonpartisan sense, may I add one personal observation, that I have never been a subscriber to the theory of reincarnation, but I find it very attractive to think about from time to time. As a Republican, my wish would be that there is such a thing as reincarnation and Phil and Ben return to Congress; I would hope they do so as Republicans.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. For a moment I thought just out of sheer habit that Ed would go to the other side.

I would like to call on a distinguished ambassador, Andrew Jacovides.

COMMENTS OF HON. ANDREW JACOVIDES

Ambassador JACOVIDES. What brings us all together this evening is to do honor to the memory of two great elected officials and dear friends who are no longer with us. Phil Burton and Ben Rosenthal were men of principle and indefatigable fighters for human dignity and justice, for the democratic ideals, and for the true interests of the United States.

In the noblest tradition of this great country, they used the power of their office to protect the rights of the weak and the downtrodden against the strong and the powerful, both at home and abroad.

We, from Cyprus, are especially indebted to them. They took strong issue with tilted policies and wrong actions and did their utmost to restore justice, freedom, and human rights to our suffering people. They were convinced that right is might and that freedom and justice are ideals suited not only for the United States but for all over the world.

Their memory will remain with us alive forever as an inspiration and a guide to all.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I would like now to call on a distinguished environmentalist, Marion Edey.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF MARION EDEY

Ms. EDEY. I am sure I could speak for the environmental movement when I say that I loved Phil Burton, both politically and personally. I think that probably there is no other movement which had such totally unambivalent feelings about Phil Burton. He was our hero every step of the way, and I have heard a lot, laughed a lot and enjoyed all the tales of Phil's tough tactics which of course were all done for us.

I think to feel the full brunt of them, maybe you had to be a Member of Congress or on his staff, which I never was. But for me, dealing with Phil Burton was always a delight. If I had to pick three things or four things, I guess I would say that he was completely honest, he was very effective, he had a marvelous sense of humor, and he kept his promises. If he said he would fight for you, he would win; and if he thought it was a losing battle, he didn't mind telling you so and saving you a lot of time in the bargain.

I don't think anyone has done more to protect the outstanding natural areas of this country. We fought for him in the last election. It is a strange shock after that to suddenly lose him in another way. But it also felt like a privilege to help work for such an outstanding replacement as Sala Burton.

I am also sure that Phil Burton is still very hard at work right now trying to turn heaven into a national park.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. There is no one over the years that has worked more closely professionally with Ben Rosenthal than Peter Barash.

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF PETER BARASH

Mr. BARASH. I was with Ben for about 14 wonderful years both on his personal staff and his subcommittee staff. There have been a number of allusion this evening to his fondness for the gym and paddleball. I remember the only time in all those years that he really got angry with me was very early on in the life of the subcommittee. It was in the days when the Washington Evening Star was in existence.

I remember the late afternoon edition covered a hearing we held that morning, and his picture was on the front page of the Washington Star. I called him up in the gym, and he said to me, "Never call me in the gym." I said, "But, Ben, your picture is on the front page of the paper." He said, "I don't care; never call me in the gym during a game." That was literally the only time he ever got angry at me.

I am going to just take a shot at trying to summarize our professional relationship and personal friendship over 15 years. Ben would have encouraged me to be brief because that was kind of his hallmark. Brevity. I often said that if he had written War and Peace, it would have been about 15 pages.

Ben was really very many wonderful and inspiring things: He was incorruptible, he was honest, he was funny. Ralph Nader once said he should have been a standup comedian, and he was. But he was also the most genuine person, as well as the most genuine politician that I ever met. What you saw was what you got, and he never pretended to be anything other than himself; and working for him was really an extraordinary, exhilarating experience. It must have been very much like what it was to work for a Cecil B. DeMille or Louis B. Mayer, even a Lyndon Johnson.

There is perhaps—there are so many stories about Ben I can tell you, but the one that comes to mind that I think so illustrates his ironic sense of humor and his style of doing business had to do with an investigation that we launched several years ago into charges that the Internal Revenue Service had abused the civil liberties of certain taxpayers, and Ben read in his beloved New York Times, which he read every morning first thing, that the Commissioner of IRS, Donald Alexander, in an interview with the Times had invited congressional scrutiny of the Service.

And he called the subcommittee staff up to his office and got Alexander on the phone—this is precisely what he said. "Commissioner," he said, "this is Ben Rosenthal. I am answering your ad in this morning's New York Times."

[Laughter.]

Mr. BARASH. Ben is gone, but his good works, his humor, and his magic live on.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Next I would like to call on another friend of Ben's, Si Kenen, who is here tonight.

COMMENTS OF SI KENEN

Mr. KENEN. I am told we are allowed to speak for 1 minute. It took me 30 seconds to walk down this aisle.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Without objection, we will allow you an extra 30 seconds.

Mr. KENEN. I thank you for the privilege of paying tribute to these two young men. I came to Washington in 1951, to win economic aid for Israel. We soon recognized the urgent need to win the support of the Congress. The pioneers were Paul Douglas, Robert Taft, Manny Celler, and Jack Javits as well as John McCormack and Joe Martin. As the years passed, younger men inherited the task.

Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton became the two spearheads and whenever we needed help on a bill, I knocked on their doors. Invariably they had acted before I arrived; Ben, assisted by competent aides, like Doug Bloomfield was able to gather all the facts and offer them to his colleagues in the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Government Operations where he persistently questioned and enlightened witnesses.

Phil Burton never needed me for he had a redoubtable aide-salon. It was all taken down and taken care of. Both men had broad interests. Ben was the first to hold hearings on Soviet Jewry, and he was a leader in antiboycott legislation. Phil served on Interior, Education and Labor. They were always ahead of me—whether it was on the Hill or at a convention. Americans who supported Israel mourn the loss of two redoubtable friends. They will be difficult to replace.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. I am going to call now on a staff member who served Phil Burton very faithfully, Ed Davis, and we will tell you that he is the last of the scheduled speakers. There may be time for two or three other speakers who may wish to speak from the floor.

I do wish after Mr. Davis you would raise your hand. Then I think we will be in a position to conclude this very night.

Mr. Davis?

[Applause.]

COMMENTS OF ED DAVIS

Mr. DAVIS. Phil Burton had something of a reputation as an ogre around here. Every once in a while someone came up to me and asked me how could I possibly work for him? Well, I never wondered. When I came to Washington

10 years ago, he was the first Member of Congress that I met. When I decided to leave DSG after working there a few years, the first Member of Congress I wanted to work for was Phil Burton.

He was a splendidly inspiring person to work for. I think everyone who worked with him over the years treasures many memories of watching him on the telephone, performing yet another political marvel. We were, all of us, painfully cut adrift in April. We lost our leader.

But Phil would be pleased and proud that Sala has taken his place, and we are so glad she is here.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Who would like to be recognized?

Yes? Would you identify yourself, please?

COMMENTS OF NICOLAS A. KARANDREAS, AMBASSADOR OF GREECE

Ambassador KARANDREAS. I am the Ambassador of Greece. I would like to add our tribute to the distinguished career of the Democratic Representatives, Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton.

In the case of Greece, through the years of the dictatorship and ever since, they were an unfailing ally to the cause of democracy and justice. In the case of Cyprus, they never ceased to speak out against the continuing tragedy and occupation and human rights violations.

It was the recognition of their sympathy and support for the concerns of Greece that the Greek Parliament addressed their condolences to their families. Their formal tribute represented a salute of affection, respect, and gratitude from the people of Greece as a whole.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. You honor us, as well as those we honor, by your presence here tonight.

COMMENTS OF ESTHER PETERSON

Ms. PETERSON. I want to stand here and just say "amen" to all the things that have been said. I especially want to say a great thanks for the consumers of this country, even though we didn't get the agency bill through—and I would love to tell you the stories on why it didn't get through. It was not because of wonderful Ben Rosenthal or Phil Burton. I want to say a great thank you to you.

And although we are here in Statuary Hall, their statues are not here. But what those men did is engraved in our hearts and minds and will not be forgotten. Thank you, Phil, and thank you, Ben.

[Applause.]

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Thank you, Esther Peterson, for those stirring remarks.

Is there anyone else?

If not, on behalf of the sponsors, families of these two great individuals, we thank you all for your presence, for your participation. We know that as we leave here tonight, the memories of these two individuals, Ben Rosenthal and Phil Burton, will live on. I hope we can remember not only the significant achievements and contributions they have made, but the good times as well.

So, I will say good night at the same time I will ask Dave Obey to play a concluding number for us.

[A musical selection was played by the Capitol Offenses.]

[Whereupon, at 7:30 p.m., the memorial service was concluded.]

California Wilderness Act of 1983

Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *April 12, 1983.*

H.R. 154, IN CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1437, AN ACT ENTITLED THE "CALIFORNIA WILDERNESS ACT OF 1983"

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 154 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 154

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1437) entitled the "California Wilderness Act of 1983", and the first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs now printed in the bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule, and each section of said substitute shall be considered as having been read, it shall be in order to consider an amendment to said substitute printed in the Congressional Record of March 24, 1983 by, and if offered by, Representative Burton of California, and all points of order against said amendment for failure to comply with the provision of clause 7 of rule XVI are hereby waived. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I intend to make an unanimous-consent request which will have the effect of amending the rule. This request would delete the language on page 2, line 11 which requires the amendment printed in the Congressional Record of

March 24, 1983, by Representative Burton to be offered solely by Mr. Burton. Otherwise, Mr. Speaker, the amendment could not be offered. For my colleagues information, I will make the unanimous-consent request on behalf of the Committee on Rules and I do so after consultation with the members of the committee on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on page 2, line 11 of House Resolution 154 the words ", and if offered by," be stricken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The resolution is modified.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Lott), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 154 is the rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983. House Resolution 154, as reported by the Rules Committee, is an open rule and provides for 1 hour of general debate to be divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Following general debate, the bill will be considered for amendment under the 5-minute rule. The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute is made in order as original text for amendment purposes and, as within all open rules, any germane amendment may be offered. The resolution, however, also allows for the consideration of an amendment printed in the Congressional Record of March 24 by Mr. Burton of California and waives points of order against its consideration under clause 7 of rule XVI, the germaneness rule. At the conclusion of the bill's consideration, a motion to recommit with or without instructions will be in order.

H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983, would add 58 areas of national forest lands in the State of California, totaling approximately 2,332,000 acres, to the national wilderness preservation system. Another 72,000 acres would be slated for further wilderness evaluation, 16,938 acres of national forest and other land would be added to the national park system, and some 1,418,230 acres of national park land would be designated as national park wilderness.

An additional purpose of the legislation is to resolve the uncertainty which has arisen in the wake of the second roadless area review and evaluation. RARE II was implemented in 1979 as a study of the suitability of some 15 million acres nationwide for designation as wilderness. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the decision of a California district court against Bergland, in which it was decided that the final RARE II environmental statement for California was invalid. According to the court's decision, no further action could be taken until another environmental statement was prepared. The consequences of that decision has been to delay both the designation of appropriate areas as wilderness and the release of remaining land for multiple-use purposes such as logging and mining. H.R. 1437, as reported from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, would resolve part of the dilemma by immediately designating 2.3 million of the affected acres as wilderness. Mr. Burton's amendment which may now be offered by Mr. Udall or any other Member of the House would release for multiple-use purpose California RARE II land not specified in the bill. The language in this amendment was included in a bill similar to H.R. 1437, which passed the House in July 1981, but which was not considered in the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, consideration of this bill will provide us with an opportunity to finally resolve the uncertainties which have resulted from the RARE II process in California.

Mr. Speaker, I would also note that this bill may serve very well as a tribute to our late great colleague, Mr. Phillip Burton.

I urge my colleagues to adopt House Resolution 154 so that we may proceed to consideration of H.R. 1437.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in sorrow at the untimely death of Congressman Phillip Burton of California and wish to extend my deepest sympathy to his family. Phillip Burton fought long and hard for what he believed in, regardless of the personal cost. Although we were on opposite sides of the aisle, one must acknowledge that he approached most issues with a dedication that will be hard to equal.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 154 provides for consideration of H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983. The resolution provides for an open rule with 1 hour of general debate, which should give all Members the opportunity to work their will on this legislation.

After general debate, the bill is open to amendment under the

5-minute rule. Two amendments have been made in order. The first is an amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Interior Committee, which shall be considered as an original bill for the purpose of amendment. Also in order is an amendment printed in the Congressional Record of March 24, 1983, by Mr. Burton of California. In accordance with the unanimous consent request made on behalf of the Rules Committee, the amendment may be offered by any Member of the House. The rule waives clause 7 of rule 16, which is the germaneness rule, for this amendment only. The rule provides for no other motion except for one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

I will not oppose this rule, but again I feel that I must stress that I do oppose the way in which this bill was considered in the Interior Committee. The views and concerns of some Members of the California delegation, whose districts are affected, have been ignored. The committee again appears to be insensitive to those who have a vested interest in the area.

I also cannot help but feel that taking so much timberland out of production will have an adverse impact on employment in the State. The administration has predicted the loss of some 1,600 to 1,800 jobs in California. The administration is also opposed to the bill due to the fact that it would result in a reduction of some $20 to $25 million annually in gross timber receipts to the Federal Government. Now is not the time to cut a source of revenue that has never involved a sacrifice by the American taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, California already has much wilderness. I see no reason to double it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, I have no requests for time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution, as modified, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

H.R. 1437, AN ACT ENTITLED THE "CALIFORNIA WILDERNESS ACT OF 1983"

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 154 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 1437.

The Chair designates the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. Kennelly) as chairman of the Committee of the Whole and requests the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. Synar) to assume the Chair temporarily.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1437) entitled the "California Wilderness Act of 1933", with Mr. Synar (Chairman pro tempore) in the Chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the first reading of the bill is dispensed with.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall) will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. Young) will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall).

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I regret very much that I have this position as floor manager today. I regret it very deeply, because as has been said earlier, the gentleman from California (Mr. Phillip Burton) was the author of this bill in this Congress and when it passed the House in the last Congress. He carried on a whole set of negotiations in his State to get basic and almost final complete settlement on the many issues that are involved.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly support H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983. This is our third time around on this bill, and I hope that the reasonable compromise contained in the legislation will finally be enacted into law.

Congressman Seiberling's statement will go into many of the details and describe some of the compromises worked out in this legislation, so I will not do so. However, I do believe this bill represents a remarkable degree of consensus on some very difficult issues, and I believe this is largely due to the tireless efforts of, Mr. Phillip Burton.

As the ranking Californian on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Phil took the lead in getting the various Members of the California delegation, particularly those in whose districts some of these lands are situated, to look at this bill in detail and to work out compromise solutions, which, while not completely satisfying everyone in every respect, I believe go about as far as we can go in legislation toward reaching a consensus.

For those who may not have had the privilege of working closely with our colleague, Phillip Burton, on a complex and important legislative proposal, I would add that, in his mastery of detail, his ingenuity at finding constructive solutions to knotty conflicts, his knowledge of the many and varied interests in his home State, his sense of balance, his legislative expertise and, above all, his unflagging dedication to the public good, he was one of the truly great public servants of our time.

While this bill is the result of the combined efforts of many, many people, to the extent it bears the stamp of any one person, that person is Phillip Burton.

This bill represents his vision and dedication to the cause of land conservation and I am committed to seeing that it passes the House and is enacted into law.

As chairman of the committee, it has been my task in the past several years to work with Subcommittee Chairman Seiberling and others to attempt to sort out the fate of some 62 million acres of national forest roadless lands in the United States which were reviewed for wilderness designation under the Forest Service's RARE II program. Nowhere has this task been more urgent than in California where a growing population is leading to greater and greater demands to preserve wildlands in their natural state.

A resolution of the California RARE II issue is made urgent by a U.S. district court decision in the State of California against Bergland which declared the RARE II process to be legally insufficient to support wilderness decisions on almost 1 million acres of roadless lands in California and which placed an injunction on any development in those 1 million acres. In short, if there is no RARE II wilderness legislation enacted for California, over three-fourths of the national forest roadless land in the State, or some 4.7 million acres will continue to remain in a wilderness limbo, where development is constrained either by court order or existing law and administrative policy. Included in these constraints would be a freeze on lands which have an annual estimated timber harvest of 115 million board feet and which would be freed for possible harvest if H.R. 1437 is enacted. Mineral development, potential ski sites, several hydroelectric projects and transmission lines, and off-road vehicle use on popular routes would also either be blocked or remain under a cloud of uncertainty if no bill is enacted. And the next Congress would be forced back to the reconsideration of widely divergent proposals for wilderness additions ranging from 1.3 to 5.1 million acres of national forest lands.

Important as the issues of ending uncertainty and opening lands for commodity production and development may be, Mr. Chairman, I should stress the positive conservation benefits of H.R. 1437. Enactment of this legislation will go a very long way toward completing the National Wilderness Preservation System in California and protecting the State's remaining scenic and natural gems. Not only will the wilderness designations of H.R. 1437 preserve outstanding opportunities for primitive recreation and scenic diversity, but perhaps more importantly, it will provide significant long-term economic and other benefits by protecting critical salmon and steelhead fisheries, insuring continued high quality waterflows and supplies, and preserving a diverse undisturbed gene pool of wildlife and plant species.

The wilderness proposals cover widely diverse areas and ecosystems ranging from the second largest unprotected national forest roadless area in the lower 48 States, to the world famous Mount Shasta and the biologically unique Russian Peak roadless area, to the desert ecosystems of southern California. Notable features protected in various areas include critical bighorn sheep habitat in the mountains surrounding the Los Angeles basin; all or portions of streams containing the remaining summer steelhead runs in the State; the Nation's highest desert mountains; the world's largest Joshua tree; two of the most spectacular river canyons in the Sierra; native golden, Paiute, and San Gorgonio trout habitat; major segments of the Pacific Crest Trail; a portion of the range of the California condor; some of the richest and most genetically diverse conifer forests in the world; several sites of critical religious and cultural significance to Native Americans; and numerous undeveloped lands in close proximity to Los Angeles and San Diego.

In summary, I believe this bill represents a true compromise between the interests of wise land conservation and the need to develop certain lands for commodity uses. I urge its approval.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Chairman, once again I find myself rising in strong opposition to a wilderness bill coming out of the Interior Committee. This time it is the California wilderness bill, and I am sorry that I must object to its passage.

I am not opposed to wilderness, if the Member of this body that represents an area wants it in his district. But this is once again an assault on the single-Member representation that this body is supposed to uphold. In this case, very few Members who have large acreage and, therefore, jobs at stake, support this bill. Those who do support it are generally those from other areas, where people are not affected by massive land withdrawals and the unemployment that such withdrawals cause. This is a battle of lifestyle—those in the city made comfortable by the extractive industries and their fruits, waging war against those very people from districts that make their life comfortable, and further, it is a battle fought by a gallant few against the power of the Federal Government in the so-called national interest. It is wrong.

Part of the reasons these bills continue to sweep through the Congress is because most of us are unaffected by the vote we take at a given moment on a wilderness question. We do each State as a separate bill—unlike any other legislation this body passes. Instead of balancing the needs for employment and natural resources, this body takes cheap votes—"It's not my district, so I'll get a cheap environmental vote." I have heard it on the floor. Well, Mr. Chairman, it is not that easy. This Congress, if you are from Virginia, Vermont, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Michigan, Arkansas, Colorado, Missouri, Arizona, or Washington, you may very well find yourself in the same position as some of these Members from California, because each of these States is targeted for wilderness legislation. You may support wilderness—I do not know. But I want you to understand that the chickens come home to roost, and until you stand up and take a vote for those Members who represent a certain district's wishes, you had better not expect them to stand up for you. Just ask Bob Smith or Denny Smith from Oregon how it feels. Just ask Bill Emerson from Missouri how it feels. Just ask Bob Davis, of Michigan, how it will feel when all the people in the lower peninsula want to make wilderness out of his lands in the upper peninsula. Just ask me—I have got 56 million acres of nonproductive lands where very few will ever visit due to the cost of doing so. Then ask yourself if you support this body's supposed support of the wishes of the affected Member. I hope the Members listen and listen well today. It is about time we stop importing unemployment into the districts of our colleagues against their wishes. I would like to include two letters of opposition to this legislation at this time:

DEL NORTE FISHERMEN'S MARKETING ASSOCIATION,
Crescent City, Calif.

The Del Norte Fishermen's Marketing Association, which represents the salmon fisherman of Del Norte County are opposed to all wilderness areas where salmon spawning streams exist, we are in favor of multiple-use lands for the following reasons.

The salmon fishermen of California have taxed themselves through the salmon stamp program to raise money to fund programs such as hatchboxes, rearing ponds, fish ladders, and stream restoration. These moneys are to be used to restore the salmon runs to somewhere near what they were in past years.

Years ago California had nearly 6,000 miles of spawning streams which produced very healthy salmon runs. Over the years Federal dams, poor logging practices, and natures severe winters have depleted these important spawning streams to just a few hundred miles. Through new laws on logging and the continued support of the logging companies the stream damage from logging is over. There is nothing we can do about the Federal dams and we can't stop nature's severe winters.

Through the moneys from the salmon stamp program. The department of fish and game, and the Bosco bill there are programs being started to repair the damage done to these spawning streams in the past. The restoration of these streams is the most important factor in rebuilding the salmon runs in California.

The salmon fishing industry is one of the most valuable fisheries in the State of California and it must be protected. In Crescent City alone in the last 5 years there has been 3,550,897 pounds of salmon landed by commercial salmon fishermen. The money that is generated by these landings is very important to Del Norte County and the State of California.

The salmon fishing industry of Del Norte County is in favor of multiple-use land because that is the only way our rebuilding programs can continue. We must have access to all the lands that have spawning streams in order to remove logjams, build wider dams, and replace spawning gravels of the right size that is needed for salmon to spawn. In a wilderness area there are no roads allowed and therefore none of this stream work can be done. In a multiple-use area we can get the equipment we need in and out to do repair work that is needed every year. This work must be done year after year as nature has a way of doing stream damage each winter.

The salmon fisherman of California, the California Department of Fish and Game, and other user groups are dedicated to the rebuilding of as much of the 6,000 miles of spawning streams as is possible. The rebuilding of these streams is the one thing that will bring back the salmon population as we once knew it.

Wilderness areas in northern California where all California salmon are spawned is a major factor in stopping the rebuilding of the major spawning grounds of California.

RICHARD C. COOP,
Manager, Del Norte Fishermen's Marketing Association.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA,
Washington, D.C., March 7, 1983.

Hon. DON YOUNG,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN YOUNG: On behalf of the lumber and sawmill workers who are members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America which consists of 800,000 members, I want to commend you for your statements as a member of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee at the hearing March 5, 1983, on H.R. 1437, entitled the "California Wilderness Act of 1983."

Your remarks were very well put, especially on the effect the wilderness bill will have on jobs.

With unemployment running 30, 40, and 50 percent in the timber industry we sure do not need more timber locked up in perpetuity.

We can be a nation of environmentalists only if our citizens have jobs and incomes to support wise conservation. If you suffer economically to the point where you can no longer hunt, fish, hike, or even travel to the forests and streams, then your burning desire to conserve is going to dim quickly, and understandably so. And this is where we are today.

We are against H.R. 1437, in its present form, if it takes one single job out of existence.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. NICHOLS,
General Treasurer and Director of Legislation.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling).

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1437.

This is Phil Burton's bill. This is the third Congress in which it has been taken up in the House. The two previous times it passed virtually without any dissent at all. It seems to me that this bill, above any other, exemplifies the commitment that Phillip Burton had to preserving our natural heritage, our heritage of wildlife and wild lands, and in particular the heritage of the State of California, which he loved.

We had a hearing out in California in 1979 which Phil attended and at that hearing we had representatives of the northern California fishing industry. I will never forget what one of the witnesses told us. She said:

> One hundred years ago there were 6,000 miles of salmon spawning streams in California's Central Valley and today there are 300 miles left, the balance having been wiped out as far as fishery response is concerned by dams, by

development that caused pollution, and by the kind of siltation of the spawning streams that is caused by roads and logging in areas that should never be logged.

So Phil Burton took that really to heart. I know how many times he said to me that if we can save some of these areas we have done things that as legislators will endure for a very long time because the people will get behind the protection that Congress has afforded, and we will have done something that will last far beyond any of us and far beyond most of the other legislation that we enact.

I know how deeply Phil felt about this. It strikes me that Phil worked out a reasonable balance between the 5.1 million acres of wilderness supported by conservationists and the 1.2 million acres endorsed by the administration and the timber industry.

Virtually every major problem area was discussed at great length and compromise is worked out in most of them.

Specifically let me refer to a few. The only major mining conflict that was brought to our attention in over 4 years of hearings, field inspections, and other discussions on the bill was resolved by the bill's release of the North Fork Smith roadless areas for possible cobalt, nickel, and chrome development.

At this point when we go back into the House I will ask unanimous consent to include in the Record letters of support for the bill from the California Nickel Corp. and United Technologies Corp., which makes the engines for many of our jet fighter planes and has a real interest in cobalt, which is one of the minerals in this potential area that we excluded from the bill.

With the exception of Sheep Mountain, every single potential ski development site, including the controversial Giddy Giddy Gulch area on Mount Shasta, has been resolved to the satisfaction of skiing groups or individual ski area operators. I will also ask unanimous consent when we get back in the House to submit a letter in support of the bill from the American Ski Federation.

All major proposed water projects have been excluded from wilderness. This includes the Spicers Meadow expansion, the Dinkey Creek project, and the Granite-Jackass project. Off-the-road vehicle interests were negotiated within and many of their favorite areas were excluded from the wilderness, including the Dusey Jeep Trail, the longest in the State.

In committee we excluded additional lands at the request of motorcyclists and other off-road vehicle users.

We included numerous important anadromous fish spawning streams in wilderness at the specific request of commercial and sport fishing organizations, and I will also ask later that letters of support from the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Associations, the Humboldt Fishermen's Marketing Association, and the California Trout, Inc., be included in the Record.

Important Native American religious areas such as Mount Shasta, Blue Creek, Eightmile Creek, the Trinity Alps, and the Orleans Mountain Planning Area are included in the bill at the specific request of Indian tribes. I will also ask to put in the Record a telegram from the Hoopa Valley Tribe on this point.

Lastly, of course, many of the wilderness proposals stem from a desire to preserve prime primitive recreation areas in their natural state. I would call Members' attention to the photographs in the Speaker's lobby which are prints from some of the many I took in the course of several field inspections to the areas.

I particularly would call their attention not only to some of the scenically beautiful areas but to some of those that show the devastation wrought to steep slopes which is the typical characteristic of many of these mountainous areas in northern California where logging roads on these granitic soils and steep slopes have produced tremendous amounts of erosion.

There are just two or three samples out in the lobby. I could multiply that manyfold, having flown and walked over much of this area.

The fact is that logging in many of these mountainous areas is a one-crop harvest which will never occur again in many, many generations. Once that happens the soil erodes and the salmon spawning streams silt up and you have lost the future timber harvests that you might have thought would regenerate and, of course, you have lost that fishery resource. That is why the fishing industry as a whole strongly supports this bill.

I woud like to make a few additional observations about timber.

First, despite the fact that some of the wilderness proposals of H.R. 1437 contain significant volumes of standing timber, overall the bill would reduce annual programed timber harvest in the State by only 2.3 percent. This is because roughly 54 percent of the State's annual timber harvest comes from State and private lands which are completely unaffected by wilderness designation, and because the vast majority of national forest commercial timberlands are untouched by the bill. In this regard I note that whereas the bill puts some 56 million board feet of annual programed harvest in wilderness above the Forest Services RARE II proposals, it releases roughly 82 million board feet from further wilderness study and from the court imposed injunction on development. The bill will thus have immediate positive impacts on timber supplies and jobs.

Second, much of the timber that is included in wilderness or wilderness study overlaps with areas of extremely unstable soils, and critical fish spawning habitat. For this reason, virtually every one of these areas has been recommended for wilderness by the California Department of Fish and Game. As I mentioned earlier, the fishermen are also gravely concerned, and I would like to read a few lines from the letter we received from the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Associations, the largest fishing organization on the west coast:

> We support this legislation as it allows for the protection and future well-being of one of our largest industries in northern California; a commercial troll salmon fishery.
>
> Most of the areas in northern California proposed under wilderness designation are characterized as "high risk" areas where in some cases the Forest Service has classified these as "special zones", where the chance for damage from land movement, slides, and erosion are extremely high.
>
> Anadromous salmonids require unrestricted access to and from spawning grounds, suitable gravels for reproducing and rearing. Good water quality, suitable temperature regimes, food availability are also mandatory. Alteration of their habitat can substantially decrease reproductive rates, as well as a change in temperature or increased siltation.
>
> It has already been well documented that road construction and timber harvesting near or within watersheds have led to accelerated sedimentation, alteration of available spawning habitat, and modification of stream temperatures. The fact that as little as one or two mass soil movements or increased debris related to road construction or timber harvesting in various watersheds, could potentially destroy an anadromous fishery for years.

Third, most of the unemployment in the timber industry arises from the current lack of demand for lumber products or to past overcutting on private lands. Forest Service studies in both California and Oregon indicate that national forests cannot possibly make up the deficit in timber supply that is resulting from such overcutting.

Fourth, economic factors such as mill automation and the closing of obsolete mills have resulted in additional job losses that are of real significance. These job losses have nothing to do with wilderness. For example, in Humboldt County alone, the number of jobs lost to automation in recent years has averaged 163 jobs each year—far more jobs than could be produced by logging all the remaining roadless areas in the county.

Fifth, I believe many of the lands proposed for wilderness or wilderness study in H.R. 1437 have such marginal quality timber that they could not be harvested without net subsidies and a loss to the U.S. Treasury after all the costs such as road construction, timber sale preparation, and reforestation are considered. Many will likely be, or should be, classified as unsuitable for timber harvest under section 6(k) of the National Forest Management Act. On April 6, 1983, a study prepared by the timber expert at the Congressional Research Service confirms his belief and suggests taxpayer dollars might better be spent on timber harvest and reforestation on the lower elevation lands which lie outside the wilderness proposals of H.R. 1437.

So I believe the timber and jobs arguments are very misleading, and that few, if any, timber jobs will be lost as a result of H.R. 1437. If the lands involved in the bill were truly top timber prospects they would have been logged long ago and would not remain roadless and undeveloped today.

Although there is an approximate 1 million acreage difference between the wilderness proposals of this bill and those of the Reagan administration, roughly 80 percent of this difference is relatively noncontroversial in the sense that it is either supported by the Member in whose district the lands are located, has little or no timber, or is supported by local county government.

Despite these facts the administration still opposes every single acre that exceeds their recommendations and has steadfastly refused any compromise.

Their intransigence is illustrated by the fact that even though the State of California won a now-famous lawsuit to block development on 1 million acres of roadless land, the administration refuses to endorse wilderness for a single acre thereof. Their idea of compromise with the State's lawsuit is 1 million acres for development, zero for wilderness.

H.R. 1437 would place approximately 40 percent in wilderness or wilderness study and release 60 percent for development, a far more realistic compromise.

Incidentally, the lands released are largely the lower elevation, better quality timberlands.

So, as you consider this bill today, I hope you will appreciate the hundreds and perhaps thousands of hours of Member and staff time that have gone into this bill. Remember that it is virtually the same measure that Mr. Burton himself authored and that passed the House twice before.

I urge that the bill be passed so that we can get it over to the other body for consideration and I pledge to work with the Members, particularly those whose districts are affected, to make sure that we have accommodated, as far as humanly possible, any reasonable problems that may arise.

In conclusion, I would simply like to read a letter dated February 25 which I received from the mayor of San Francisco, the Honorable Dianne Feinstein, written before the untimely demise of the author of this bill. She states:

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,
San Francisco, February 25, 1983.

HON. JOHN SEIBERLING,
Chairman, House Public Lands Subcommittee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SEIBERLING: California's mountain parks and forests provide San Francisco with water and with electrical power. Just as importantly, our city looks to the mountains for their wilderness, and the enduring recreational and aesthetic resource it provides. Since the time of John Muir, the path from San Francisco to the mountains has drawn San Franciscans and visitors from across the country and around the world, in ever-growing numbers.

A power balance of recreational lands, resource protection, and resource utilization must be maintained if California is to continue as a leader, culturally and economically, in our country. I believe the decisions worked out by Representative Phillip Burton's bill, H.R. 1437, the successor to H.R. 856 and H.R. 859, strike such a balance.

I wish to convey to you and to the members of the subcommittee my support for this legislation and urge its adoption by the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

DIANNE FEINSTEIN, *Mayor.*

Madam Chairman, I certainly join in that fine expression of support for this legislation and urge all of you to join me in supporting it. I thank the distinguished chairman of the committee for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I am including with my remarks the following materials:

California Nickel Corp., Palos Verdes Estates, Calif.,
March 21, 1983.

Hon. Phillip Burton,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Burton: I was pleased to note that you were successful in having H.R. 1437 moved out of committee. This bill is of particular importance to us as it permits the use of some 15 percent of the cobalt bearing laterite reserves on Gasquet Mountain. The use of this reserve in our Gasquet Mountain project is critical to the economic and operating viability of the proposed project.

As you are perhaps aware, the project will have at least two important and beneficial impacts: First, it will provide an estimated 540 direct, full-time jobs in the terribly depressed Del Norte County area of northwestern California, where unemployment is currently 27 percent; and, second, it will provide a significant domestic source of strategic metals for the United States.

If there is any way we can be of help in supporting your efforts, please let us know.

Sincerely,

William E. Hosken.

[Del Norte Triplicate, Crescent City, Calif., Mar. 26, 1983]

Jobless Rate Cut of Six Points Seen With Cal Nik Plan

On Thursday, the State employment development department reported that February's unemployment rate in Del Norte County soared to 25.6 percent, an 11-month high.

Combined with January's jobless rate of 23.3 percent, unemployment in the county this year is running at a seasonal average of 24.5 percent.

In 1982, unemployment in Del Norte averaged 23.2 percent, the highest rate since the methodology used to compute the figures was introduced by the EDD in 1974.

Although California Nickel Corp's., proposed mining project on Gasquet Mountain may not be a panacea for the county's employment problems, the company estimates that its proposal will lower the jobless rate by at least 6.3 percent.

A second scenario compiled by the Del Norte County Planning Department and the U.S. Forest Service said the jobless rate could drop by as much as 9.3 percent.

However, the county and Forest Service warned that "no forecast or projections of economic or social behavior can be made with absolute confidence.

"There are too many external forces that can affect or influence the timing, magnitude and direction of changes and individual behavior," the statement said.

According to the draft environmental impact statement (EIS) for the project, the company claims that project construction under its preferred alternative would result in the short-term (2 years) creation of 1,560 to 1,950 jobs.

Of this total, the number of direct and indirect jobs which would be created in Del Norte is put at between 1,200 and 1,500 direct jobs and from 300 to 375 indirect jobs.

"This represents an increase of 27.7 percent to 34.6 percent in Del Norte County's wage and salary employment over the benchmark level," the EIS said. "The unemployment rate of Del Norte County is projected to decrease an estimated 6.3 to 9.3 percentage points during peak project construction."

Project construction would extend over a 2-year period, according to the EIS.

Under Cal Nickel's proposed alternative, total direct employment would be staggered, beginning with 100 employees the first month and reaching a peak of 1,200 employees the 18th month.

Total indirect employment, the EIS said, would generate 30 jobs in the trades and services section of the local economy and peak in the 18th month with 360 jobs.

Once the construction phase of the project is completed, Cal Nickel expects to employ 540 workers to operate the plant.

A joint declaration by the Del Norte County Planning Department and the Forest Service made it clear that what needs to be done so far as the project is concerned can be done with local resources.

"To the extent that existing local manpower and services are underutilized," the statement said, "the bulk of the project's requirements for additional labor, goods, and services can be provided from local resources without the need to bring in outside supplies.

"The fewer new people attracted to the local area the less likely there will be pressure on the local community's resources and cultural characteristics," the report said.

◆

WASHINGTON, D.C., *March 22, 1983.*

Hon. MELVIN PRICE,
Chairman, House Committee on Armed Services,
Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

The United States' frontline F–15 and F–16 fighters are powered by Pratt and Whitney's F100 engine which requires over 900 pounds of input weight cobalt. Our Nation currently depends on foreign sources for 91 percent of its cobalt supply thus exposing this country to the dangers of foreign supply interruption. One way to reduce this risk is to encourage domestic production of cobalt.

The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee recently approved H.R. 1437, the California wilderness bill which permits the development of a cobalt rich area located in the Gasquet section of northern California. Pratt and Whitney applauds the committee's action and supports this decision to allow development of this strategic and critical material. I urge you to support this important measure which could come to the House floor as early as the week of March 21.

ROBERT J. CARLSON,
Executive Vice President, Power United Technologies Corp.

* * *

AMERICAN SKI FEDERATION,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. JOHN SEIBERLING,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks,
House Office Building Annex 1, Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SEIBERLING: The American Ski Foundation commends the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks for scheduling a hearing on H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983. We appreciate the opportunity to submit a statement in support of California wilderness legislation.

The American Ski Federation is the unbrella organization that represents the entire ski industry, including ski area operators and ski equipment and apparel manufacturers. The ski industry gratefully acknowledges the sensitivity of the Public Lands Subcommittee to the needs of the ski industry in California. The wilderness boundaries established in H.R. 1437 are acceptable to the ski industry with the exception of the Mount Baldy wilderness boundaries.

The American Ski Federation supported similar California wilderness legislation in the 97th Congress. H.R. 4083. This proposal precluded the opportunity for additional skiing on Mount Baldy. In the months following passage of H.R. 4083, the ski industry conducted an additional review of the wilderness designations in that bill. With an evergrowing skier population, especially in California, it is important to keep land available on Mount Baldy for future use as part of the present ski area.

The American Ski Federation, speaking for the ski industry reiterates its support of H.R. 1437, but requests that the legislation be modified to allow expansion of the ski area at Mount Baldy.

We thank the subcommittee for scheduling a hearing on this important California wilderness legislation that will settle difficulties for the ski industry caused by uncertainty of wilderness designations in the State of California.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH T. PRENDERGAST, *President.*

* * *

HUMBOLDT FISHERMEN'S MARKETING ASSOCIATION,
Eureka, Calif., March 17, 1983.

Hon. JOHN SEIBERLING,
Chairman. Public Lands Subcommittee,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

I support H.R. 1437 by Congressman Burton. It is necessary that anadromous fish producing watersheds be conserved. The long-term production of much of these areas exceeds the short-term benefits of timber harvest. Particular inclusion of Blue Creek and Eight Mile Watershed is important in light of their steep slopes geology.

Sincerely,

KEVIN COLLINS, *HFMA President.*

* * *

PACIFIC COAST FEDERATION OF FISHERMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, INC.,
Sausalito, Calif., March 18, 1983.

Re comments on the proposed legislation, H.R. 1437.

Mr. ANDY WEISSNER,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WEISSNER: The Pacific Coast Federation Fishermen's Associations (PCFFA) represents 21 commercial fishermen's organizations in California and Oregon. Fishermen belonging to our member associations are engaged in numerous ocean fisheries, including the troll salmon fishery.

We welcome this opportunity to submit our comments and concerns regarding H.R. 1437 which proposes to designate certain areas of national forest land into wilderness designation. We support this legislation as it allows for the protection and future well-being of one of our largest industries in northern California; a commercial troll salmon fishery.

Most of the areas in northern California proposed under wilderness designation are characterized as "high risk" areas where in some cases the Forest Service has classified these as "special zones," where the chance for damage from land movement, slides, and erosion are extremely high.

Anadromous salmonids require unrestricted access to and from spawning grounds, suitable gravels for reproducing and rearing. Good water quality, suitable temperature regimes, food availability are also mandatory. Alteration of their habitat can substantially decrease reproductive rates, as well as a change in temperature or increased siltation.

It has already been well documented that road construction and timber harvesting near or within watersheds have led to accelerated sedimentation, alteration of available spawning habitat and modification of stream temperatures. The fact that as little as one or two mass soil movements or increased debris related to road construction or timber harvesting in various watersheds, could potentially destroy an anadromous fishery for years.

The decision by Judge Ingram to remove the federally designated Wild and Scenic River status for our Northcoast Rivers threatens the future well-being of anadromous resources. Prior to designation of Wild and Scenic status, many of our streams were severely damaged by the lack of adequate protection; however, under the protection of Wild River status, many of our rivers began to see a slow recovery in fishery utilization and habitat utilization.

In the absence of this river protection, we are faced with intense competition for water from water developers and the tremendous increase in small hydroelectric projects.

Acid rain is another consideration. According to a March 8, 1983 article in the Times Standard, the operation of the Cal Nickel Mine in Gasquet, Calif., will produce 706 tons of sulphur-dioxide and 1,993 tons of nitrousoxide per year. The intensity of the effects to our resources due to acid rain have a direct correlation to humidity. Gasquet, with one of the highest recorded rainfalls in the United States has the potential for severe damage to our fisheries.

The issue of timber employment is a very sensitive issue, not only politically, but as evidenced from the disastrous effect timber layoffs have had to northern California's economy as a result of the high interest policies of the Federal Reserve during the Carter-Reagan administrations. Increased automation, past overcutting and a variable and sluggish market have continued to impact the employment outlook of the timber industry. Employment within the timber industry has declined steadily since the 1960's and it is not anticipated that it will attain pre-1960's level in the near future.

We have the following comments for specific areas that have been designated in H.R. 1437 for wilderness:

Blue Creek—is one of the largest and most important anadromous tributaries to the Klamath River system. With its substantial and excellent habitat for Chinook (king) salmon and coho (silver) salmon and steelhead trout, Blue Creek is the largest producer of anadromous fish below the Trinity River confluence and is considered the largest producer of steelhead in the entire river system.

Mill Creek—70 percent of the remaining spring Chinook run in the Sacramento River, utilize Mill Creek. Development of small hydroelectric projects threatens this remaining run of spring Chinook salmon.

Eight Mile Creek—considered a "high risk" area due to the steepness and instability of the hillside. Logging in this area could potentially lead to serious damage of the watersheds available for salmon spawning and rearing habitat.

Yolla Bolly, Middle Eel River—We hesitate to lend our support for wilderness designation in this area because the surrounding land in the Eel River watershed are in private ownership. However, development of these lands could substantially impact the salmon resources within Yolla Bolly area. For this reason, we support wilderness designation.

In regards to the other areas not mentioned, we must recognize the value (economic potential to the State) of the resident anadromous fisheries utilizing these rivers and creeks and protect those watersheds that provide the essential spawning and rearing habitat.

Individual member associations have gone on record as opposing this bill, however for the long term future good of our salmon resource, we find we have no choice but to support wilderness designation. We do this with great hesitation. We are sympathetic to the plight of the forest products industry; we do know that some timber companies are ready, willing, and able to work for the protection and restoration of our salmon resource. However, given the nature of the areas under consideration, the lack of Federal wild and scenic protection, present attempts to weaken that State and Federal forest practices, we feel we must support H.R. 1437.

If you wish to discuss this further, or have any questions or comments, please call.

Sincerely,

STEPHANIE THORNTON, *Deputy Director.*

HOOPA, CALIF., *April 8, 1983.*

Hon. JOHN SEIBERLING,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

The following is a copy of mailgram sent to the Honorable Douglas Bosco on April 8, 1983:

As the duly authorized and federally recognized governing body of the Hoopa Valley Indian Tribe, the Hoopa Valley Business Council is empowered by its constitution and bylaws to negotiate with the Federal Government on behalf of the tribe.

We wish to inform you of our strong support of the California wilderness bill, H.R. 1437, and its companion Senate bill, S. 5. However, it is imperative that the following additions be made to H.R. 1437. All of the Orleans Mountains RARE II areas, A, B, C, 5079, the Forest Service designated Redcap Wilderness Study Area and most importantly, the Trinity Summit Area. At the Trinity Summit Area, Brett and Grogan Holes must be included along with a corridor extending to Tishtang Point and to the reservation and then to the south to include Bell Swamp, the grand canyon of Horse Linto Creeks and the Grizzly Camp Area.

The council has supported wilderness designation for all of these areas in the past as our original and sacred lands are in these areas. In 1980, at the congressional hearings on wilderness held in Weaverville, Calif., the chairman of the Hoopa Valley Business Council presented a statement strongly supporting wilderness for these areas, in particular and northern California in general. We strongly urge you to support our sacred concerns for these areas and see that they and other Indian spiritual areas in other adjacent roadless areas be designated as wilderness.

L. C. RICHLESS,
Chairperson, Hoopa Valley Business Council.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Madam Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway).

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, we are back in an exercise that has been repeated here in the House of Representatives almost every 2 years during the short period of time I have been here and for a longer period during which other Members have been privileged to serve in this body. This bill and this particular exercise has been hosted by our colleague, Phil Burton, and I join today in those tributes which have been expressed to him. He was a friend and I do respect him very much and look forward to the opportunity later this afternoon in joining in a special order to pay respect to him.

The bill that we have before us today grew out of the roadless area review and evaluation which was launched in 1979; a recommendation which has been adopted by the Forest Service after extensive study and at the dictate of Congress by the way, and a recommendation which did have the endorsement of the Carter administration and which now enjoys in large part the endorsement of the Reagan administration.

My objection to the bill before us today is not based upon any kind of built-in animosity toward wilderness areas but it simply lies in the fact that the bill as introduced by Congressman Burton goes far beyond the Forest Service recommendations, far beyond what I think, therefore, is necessary and what is good for us to consider in this Congress.

In past efforts here in the House we have adopted California wilderness bills. But in each case because they have gone far beyond the recommendations upon which they were based, we found that the progress of those bills was stymied in the Senate and they did not gain the necessary consensus to eventually work their way through Congress.

The bill before us this year goes beyond the bill which we had before us last year by adding almost a quarter of a million acres. Therefore, it seems to me, colleagues of the House, that we simply compound the problem and we diminish the chances for resolving this particular issue once and for all. My effort is not to torpedo the wilderness proposal but simply to scale back to a more reasonable percentage the number of acres and the amount of land which has been earmarked for wilderness.

In contrast to assertions made by my colleague from Ohio, there is no adamant opposition, there is no across-the-board opposition on this side of the aisle nor on the part of the administration, but simply a genuine concern about the excessive and sweeping effect of this bill. As I see it and as I saw it when it was first introduced, this bill is an extravagant approach. There has been no effort here to balance the needs of wilderness on the one hand and the economy and multiple uses on the other hand.

My district contains almost 30 percent of the area which is proposed for wilderness under this particular bill and I hasten to tell you that this bill would have a very adverse effect upon my district.

First, it would have an effect upon the timber industry which would not be a positive effect. Second, it would have a very adverse effect upon mineral development. We are talking here about scarce minerals which are vital to the defense industry, such as manganese, chromite, and tungsten. Third, it would have an effect on closing certain jeep trails, those access routes that have been available for motorized recreational vehicle enthusiasts for many, many years.

Fourth, it would hamper the Forest Service, in a congressional-given responsibility, to exercise water resource management. Fifth, it would certainly adversely affect the ski potential for many of the areas in my district. Let me talk a little about a couple of these points.

No. 1, on the loss of jobs, in my part of California and indeed most parts of California affected by this legislation the major employer is the timber industry. For some years those mills have been shut down for various reasons. Many of them now are in the posture of reopening, expressing optimism about new demand for their products and the chances of increasing employment throughout the cities and towns of northern California.

Depending on who you talk to there could be as many as 500 to 1,200 jobs directly lost by this bill or as many as 1,000 to 2,500 service-related jobs which could be lost if this bill does become law.

Now, these figures may be very small on the national perspective, but as far as northern California is concerned, they are big and have a very substantial impact. Let me give you one example. Up in Siskiyou County is a community called Happy Camp. There is one mill in that town, owned by the Southwest Forest Industries Association. They just recently announced plans to expand, and the source of their expansion is nearby Dillion Creek, earmarked by this bill for wilderness; having potential of 6 million board feet. The mill operators have said if this bill becomes law they will scrap their plans for expansion and thereby destroy the potential of jobs for 60 mill operators and 40 loggers.

It seems to me, Madam Chairman, that saying this bill serves the need of jobs creation in California, is like saying this bill feeds a piece of candy to someone who is dying of malnutrition. He may enjoy the taste for a minute or two but the long-range problem remains just as critical.

Let me say a word about Forest Service responsibilities for water resource management. We gave them that responsibility in 1976 under the National Forest Management Act. Eighty percent of California's water originates in national forest land.

By making this land wilderness we are restricting the Forest Service in its ability, and we are hampering it in the exercise of its responsibility.

The Forest Service tells me, for example, they would like to manage vegetation so as to minimize water withdrawal, to allow more water through drainage; to do this they need necessarily allow timber cutting in select areas and require minimum ground cover to protect soils in other areas. Also they need to increase the snow pack by snow fencing, all of which would be made wrong and outlawed by a wilderness designation.

It seems to me that in many areas of my district the bill goes too far. Another area, for example, is Granite Chief. Inclusion of the northern section of this particular area has been opposed by the North Fork Association, a private conservation group, on the ground that they can better manage that wilderness as they have in the past than the Forest Service now offers to do.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the 1964 Wilderness Act had very plausible objectives. But Madam Chairman, they were not intended to be vehicles for wholesale designations. They should be confined to those areas which have unique features. The Forest Service has studied the areas, made extensive reviews and reports for us. To the extent that the Burton bill largely doubles their recommendations and even goes beyond last year's bill, it seems to me that we are misusing the guidelines of the 1964 Wildernes Act.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHUMWAY. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I want to compliment the gentleman, Mr. Shumway, in the well for his fine outstanding work on this issue. I would also like at this time to ask him, is he not going to offer a substitute that has been embraced by, yes, the previous administration and this administration, that is basically what was recommended to the Congress. Is this true?

Mr. SHUMWAY. That is true. I appreciate the gentleman asking that question. I will offer that substitute which was the basis of the Forest Service recommendation and was the recommendation of the past two administrations.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Is it correct when you made the statement, the Forest Service with the addition of these wilderness areas will preclude them from managing the area for wildlife habitat?

Mr. SHUMWAY. Yes.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Water enhancement programs, for fire control, for insect control and in fact really what the action of this bill with the additional acres, because the acres were recommended no real study has gone into, we will be taking away that which we are attempting to save, that is the areas of California that have some potential attraction to the people that live in the cities. But really we are doing a disservice to the management of the lands which is encompassed in this bill, is that true?

Mr. SHUMWAY. That is true. The gentleman is exactly correct, and I appreciate his asking that question.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Lehman).

Mr. LEHMAN of California. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the California RARE II wilderness bill with pride and sorrow—pride to have worked with the author, Phil Burton, to develop wilderness legislation for our home State, California—and sorrow, to stand in support of this bill without Phil alongside leading us to do better together what we cannot do nearly so well alone. Above all things, Phil Burton was a doer, a compromiser, a pragmatist in the best American political tradition. Phil's goals were of the highest—whether to save food stamps for today's elderly or to protect our parks for tomorrow's children.

But it cannot be said that Phillip Burton was content to dream of what might be, he concerned himself with tangible accomplishments such as the bill before us today. Phil could not, would not wait for perfect legislative products. He realized, when many of us did not, that so long as human beings work in the U.S. Congress, it is fruitless to wait for utopia. Phil was impatient—impatient to do everything in his considerable power to do today what more timid souls would put off until tomorrow.

It is in that spirit that I urge my colleagues to consider H.R. 1437, so carefully crafted by Phil Burton and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. He indeed did not achieve perfection, but he did achieve a fair and an equitable compromise hammered out not just in this Congress, but in the 97th and 96th before that.

On one hand, H.R. 1437 adds 2.3 million acres of new wilderness to the forest system of the United States. On the other hand, this bill releases in excess of 100 million board feet of potential timber yield. In my own district, which encompasses about 20 percent of the entire wilderness proposal before us, this California wilderness bill designates critical additions to the John Muir Wilderness and affords wilderness protection to two of the finest remaining roadless areas in the State of California. Two major water projects are excluded, three downhill ski areas left out, and lower elevation lands containing the best timber-growing potential are removed from wilderness designation or study. The compromises reached in my district are typical of those agreements reached all over the State. On balance, H.R. 1437 looks very similar to California wilderness legislation which passed the House overwhelmingly in the 96th and 97th Congresses.

What are the alternatives if we do not enact this legislation? At this moment, the answer is there are no real alternatives unless we consider years of litigation an alternative—unless we consider a total reconsideration of wilderness areas nationwide, as proposed by the Secretary of Agriculture, as an alternative.

I understand that my colleague on the other side of the aisle may offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute which is essentially the U.S. Forest Service's previous recommendation. The first point to be made here is that the official administration position totally ignores the State of California's position which states in a lawsuit that the original Forest Service recommendations, now favored by the administration, are totally inadequate. Second, the difference in terms of timber production between administration preferred acreage and H.R. 1437 is only about 1 percent. Under Secretary Cromwell has himself ordered the entire Forest Service proposal redone under a new RARE III.

I suggest to my colleagues that the sensible course of action is to go forward with the legislative product we have in hand. H.R. 1437 accommodates a wide variety of multiple-use interests—interests which I support and share. My California district encompasses urban centers, national parks, forests, and rich agricultural lands of the Central Valley of California. For loggers, for grazers, for miners, for fishermen, and hunters, multiple-use land management is a solid tradition on our western lands.

A balanced approach between resource development and resource protection is necessary and H.R. 1437 has achieved that delicate balance. There are some areas, which because of their pristine beauty, must be set aside so that future generations of Americans can enjoy and appreciate them. Such is the case with the California wilderness. The 2.3 million acres we proposed for wilderness status today will be there if and when they are truly needed for our national economy or security. But in the final analysis, our unique California wilderness should be a resource of last, not first, resort for development.

Madam Chairman and fellow colleagues, I urge passage of Phillip Burton's California wilderness bill. We cannot say what he might have said on this occasion, but we can do what he would have done and what is right to do. We vote "aye" on H.R. 1437.

I thank Chairman Udall for yielding me this time.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEHMAN of California. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The recommendation which the gentleman speaks of, was that this administration or the previous administration?

Mr. LEHMAN of California. That was the previous administration and the only administration to make a statement on this in a lawsuit that was sustained in Federal court.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Was it Dr. Cutler, was he the Department's head of agriculture at that time?

Mr. LEHMAN of California. No.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. It was not Dr. Cutler?

Mr. LEHMAN of California. No.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I thank the gentleman.

Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. McCandless).

Mr. McCANDLESS. Madam Chairman, I have been placed in the difficult position of opposing the California Wilderness Act in its present form.

The millions of acres this bill proposes for wilderness designation—over 2.3 million of forest land, more than 1.4 million parkland—is double what the administration and the Forest Service have recommended. With 2.7 million acres already in the wilderness designation in California, this bill is unacceptable.

In my own district in California, the addition to the Santa Rosa Wilderness provides us with an idea of the areas involved. Additional study must be done for further planning to determine the best use.

At least three groups are interested in the future designation of this area: First, an area adjoining the Santa Rosa Wilderness is under study by the BLM as a potential part of the California Desert conservation area; second, the nature conservancy has an option to buy, from private owners, additional acreage for a bighorn habitat within the proposed wilderness; and third, the California Department of Fish and Game has acquired 24,500 acres of checkerboard lands within the proposed area.

Additional study must be done for further planning to determine the best use of this land.

This body recently labored over a jobs bill, which was successful. Here, however, we have a bill that would sacrifice as many as 1,600 to 1,800 jobs in the mining and timber industries.

I could support a reasonable bill, one that would limit the acreage and include additional study, rather than establish a blanket wilderness designation.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. Edwards).

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the legislation.

Madam Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act. Our consideration of this legislation today heightens our feeling of loss at the death of our good friend, Phillip Burton. How simply inconceivable that Phil is not here with us today to employ those remarkable powers of persuasion that were uniquely his in insuring passage of this measure.

Yet, despite the sorrow we feel, it is fitting we act today to pass this legislation as a tribute to Phil, a man who did more than perhaps any Member of this body to preserve and protect our wilderness areas.

The California Wilderness Act is one of the last pieces of legislation Phil sponsored. Typically, it is a fine, well-crafted measure. H.R. 1437 designates 2.3 million acres in 58 areas of national forest land in California as national forest wilderness. Some 72,000 acres would be targeted for further wilderness study, almost 17,000 acres of national forest and other land would be added to the national park system, and about 1.4 million acres of existing national park land would be classified as national park wilderness.

The bill also removes the court-imposed injunction on 580,000 acres of national forest roadless lands and frees these lands for other uses. Moreover, H.R. 1437 will halt the recently announced reevaluation of all roadless lands in California—RARE III—thereby avoiding additional costs to taxpayers of $2 million to $3.5 million and delays of 6 to 24 months or longer in the implementation of national forest land-use plans.

This compromise legislation is the product of 4 years of work by Phil, by the California delegation, and by the Interior Committee. Through careful selection of areas, every effort has been made to settle resource conflicts and to settle the many issues surrounding the California RARE II controversy.

I am saddened that Phil Burton is not with us today. His heart and integrity were behind this bill. With his dedication to our environment in mind, I urge you to support the California Wilderness Act, and to defeat all weakening amendments.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Bosco).

Mr. BOSCO. Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to the bill. H.R. 1437 would designate a total of 592,000 acres of wilderness in California's First Congressional District, which I represent.

Many of these areas are not in dispute; others are highly controversial in my district, and the proposals have caused deep divisions among the people of the north coast.

The local economy has long been dependent on the region's natural resources, and there is serious concern about the impacts of removing this much land from the national forests' timber harvest base, particularly at a time when unemployment continues to be more than double the national average in many areas.

The last time Congress took it upon itself to make major decisions about land use on the north coast—with the 1978 expansion of Redwood National Park—thousands of local residents lost their jobs, and the promised economic benefits of increased tourism have been slow to materialize. It is no wonder, then, that many on the north coast are skeptical of congressional attempts to preserve additional lands through this wilderness bill.

Yet there are also many people who sincerely believe that the wilderness designations included in H.R. 1437 are necessary to protect the long term health of our fisheries and recreation industries, which, along with timber, form the foundations of the north coast's economy.

Past poor logging and mining practices, coupled with Federal water project dams and diversions, have taken a serious toll on salmon and steelhead habitat, and wilderness designations are viewed by some as the best way to insure the protection of valuable spawning and rearing areas in the last of our unroaded watersheds.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that wilderness classification is only one of the land-use designations available for protection of resource values in these areas, and other, less restrictive designations do not imply uncontrolled logging and destruction of fisheries. In some cases, the wilderness designation is clearly appropriate. In other areas, however, particularly those where intensive timber management is already ruled out under the National Forest Management Act, less restrictive designations offer a similar level of protection while allowing expanded recreational access, fire management, fisheries habitat restoration, reforestation, and other activities. For example, during the last 5 years, we in the north coast have undertaken a bold, innovative effort to restore salmon and steelhead habitat areas. Many of our rivers and streams need extensive maintenance and repair work to clear debris and logjams, restore gravel beds for spawning, create cold pools for fish habitat, and provide necessary shade canopy. Over 700 miles of habitat have already been restored, largely due to cooperation between local, commercial, and sports fishermen, Indians, the forest products industry, and an outstanding effort from the young people in the California Conservation Corps. In that much of this work requires access to remote areas and the use of motorized equipment, it is my fear that wilderness designation could actually impair, rather than assist, the restoration of our fisheries.

In addition to these considerations, we also need to consider the broader implications of our land allocations on employment, local government revenues, wildlife habitat, timber supply and demand, recreation, water quality, and other needs.

In my district, where the effects of the recession are likely to linger long after the rest of the country begins to see the benefits of economic recovery, jobs have to be our top priority. I do not believe we have to sacrifice the quality of our environment to provide and protect jobs, but striking a balance between these concerns is not an easy task in this case.

One county in my district, Trinity County, came up with its own wilderness recommendations after long and difficult negotiations, and the Trinity County Board of Supervisors has consistently reaffirmed its support for that position. The Trinity County recommendations account for a large portion of the acreage in my district that is included in this bill, and I support those provisions.

No such local consensus exists, however, regarding several other areas in my district, most notably the bill's additions to the Siskiyou Wilderness proposed by the administration. These may very well be the most controversial areas in the bill. I believe it may be possible to produce an agreement in those areas that reflects the concerns raised by local governments, environmental groups, the forest products industry, fishermen, and others, and I have spent considerable time this year consulting with those groups in an effort to establish grounds for productive negotiations. Our work is far from finished, however, I am optimistic that we can offer a proposal that would resolve the controversy in a reasonable manner. No one should underestimate the endless hours of negotiation and hard work expended on this bill by our late colleague, Phillip Burton. Indeed, we must all be grateful for his concern for our environment.

Mr. Burton was well aware of these problems, and had graciously agreed to try to accommodate whatever solution we were able to come up with in my district. I continue to believe such an agreement is possible, and we will continue our work toward that end. Nonetheless, I cannot support the bill in its present form, and I will be voting against it with the hope we can successfully resolve the remaining controversies in the near future.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. Bosco) has expired.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. Bosco).

Mr. BOSCO. Madam Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I would like to commend the gentleman in the well for his statement, again restating the fact that 600,000 acres, is that not true, in the gentleman's district is in this bill?

Mr. BOSCO. Yes. And I might say that all 600,000 acres of it are not contested, as has been pointed out earlier. Much of that area would be very appropriate for wilderness.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. The gentleman's comment on what can and cannot be done in the utilization of tools to manage the timber is well taken, and I think it should be recognized that the substitute that the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway) will offer is one I believe that the gentleman probably could support because it takes into consideration those areas that are noncontested and allows them to become wilderness.

Again, I want to compliment the gentleman for his statement in bringing this to the floor.

Mr. BOSCO. I thank the gentleman.

Madam Chairman, I do not think the whole argument must be put in terms of timber harvest versus wilderness, because there are many uses of that land that would be precluded by wilderness that I think would be beneficial to the public.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Lewis).

Mr. LEWIS of California. I thank the gentleman from Alaska for yielding.

Madam Chairman, I had not planned to speak in general debate today on this measure; but, then, at the end of the weekend we were all shocked by hearing of the sudden death of our friend and colleague, Phillip Burton of San Francisco. I had the privilege of getting to know Phillip Burton extremely well during the years I served in the California Legislature. It was my questionable privilege to represent the Republican Party in the legislature in a thing called reapportionment. And suddenly it came to our attention that there was a fellow from San Francisco who knew more about drawing lines in our State than any computer ever dreamed of. Phil arrived at our doorstep over 10 years ago, and for a period of about 2 months literally spent every evening with us, hour after hour, discussing politics, public affairs, and specifically the art of drawing lines. An incredible human being who knew more about every Member's district, whether he was a Member of the Senate or the assembly or the Congress, than the individual Member knew—Phil had a phenomenal capacity for work, and when committed to a cause, he was unrelenting in its purpose.

Ofttimes in the House I am disturbed by the intensity of partisan politics around here. Phil Burton, while partisan, much more was a Member of Congress who was concerned about issues, and when he cut out a subject area to work on, you can bet your life he was going to make a change.

Well, in line drawing, his expertise was not limited to reapportionment. Shortly upon ariving here, I learned about a thing called RARE II, and Phil Burton was in the midst of deciding just how much of our State and other States we could afford to pass on to the public realm. And he was serious about it.

Today we were going to have, I thought, one of the most fantastic debates that we might have had in the short time that I have been here—because he loved a battle. And some of us were relishing the thought of joining that battle. I must say that Phil is probably looking down with great disappointment that we were not able to engage those horns that would create a clamor around this place like we have not seen for some time.

The chairman, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling), indicated that this bill was virtually 80 percent of that which Mr. Burton had brought before us last year and that most of the Members whose districts were affected were satisfied with the measure. I must say, Madam Chairman, that indeed the bill is 80 percent, or probably more, of that which Mr. Burton had presented before. But I would suggest that the bill is far from satisfactory to the Members whose districts are affected. I would hope that we will be able on the Senate side to work the sort of compromise we would have been able to work with Mr. Burton, for, as you know, he was a master at that process of compromise.

But to illustrate the point, my district includes a little county called Inyo County. It is probaby larger than most of your districts. It only involves 12,500-plus square miles. That county is 98.5 percent in the public realm. And all this bill does is to suggest that that is not enough—that we ought to transfer another 110,000 acres into additional public control. And the land affected in no way, shape or form reflects classic wilderness territory. It is tabletop land. Most of the geology is made up of stone and granite and volcanic ash that you could not hike through if you wanted to. But it is included in the bill because there are a few people within some of those organizations that like the Government to direct all of our lives, who want to connect two wilderness areas. And the way they accomplish their goal is to spend over $1 million of the taxpayers' money to buy these nonwilderness acres. Land that presently is of high recreation use that many, many people enjoy week in and week out. Experts attest to the fact that this land is in no way wilderness. Nonetheless, it is in the bill. And I was never consulted. But, on the other hand, I am a relatively new Member, so why should my district be consulted?

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEWIS of California. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Of course I intend to work with the Members as this bill works its way through the Senate and conference, and if the gentleman is familiar with my handling of legislation, I do it a little differently than Mr. Burton, but my objective is the same—to try to reach something that the Members can live with.

I would point out to the gentleman that this bill does not provide for buying any land. We are only dealing with land that is already in Federal ownership.

With respect to Inyo County, we found that the land that they were complaining about being put in wilderness is actually 40 miles north of the wilderness area provided for by this bill. So I do not think they quite understand what we were doing.

Mr. LEWIS of California. In response to the chairman, I think, perhaps, because Mr. Burton was concentrating on this bill so, there is a need for staff to do some additional homework, for there is private land that would have to be purchased that is in my district that is in this bill.

Another example. There is an existing ski resort located in my district that is in the bill. I presume that is not public land, since private parties are paying the taxes upon it.

The real point is this: We are not going to be able to have the debate today we were going to have. I was looking forward with some delight to the debate, knowing that we would go down the tubes here because people walk on the floor and knee jerk, throw away a vote for wilderness when it does not affect their State or their district.

I will never forget the time that the gentleman from Alaska stood in the well with tears rolling down his face, begging the membership to recognize that it was his district that was being affected during the Alaska lands debate. That the people who know Alaska are his people. That the people who truly love the wilderness that is Alaska are his constituents. That the citizens who want to preserve the environment of that vast region are his citizens. But who would listen? The majority around here come to the floor and cast a vote for the self-annointed environmental lobbies—so long as it affects someone else's district.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Fazio).

Mr. FAZIO. I thank the Chairman for yielding. It is always a great pleasure to follow to the podium my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. Lewis), who spoke so eloquently about his appreciation for the talent of the late Phillip Burton, and I think also adds a great deal to the process itself by the very nature in which he has discussed the problem as it relates to his own district. It is in this bipartisan spirit and I remain ultimately optimistic about the eventual outcome of this issue.

I want everyone to understand that I in no way demean the concerns about jobs that my colleagues have, particularly Mr. Chappie, Mr. Shumway, Mr. Bosco, who opposed this measure, and, I understand, Mr. Pashayan as well. But I think it is important that we understand the process we have traditionally gone through on legislation of this type. We must conduct our further negotiations in the Senate. And I am here today, therefore to strongly urge that we move this not perfect but very sound and essential legislation along to the other body.

I regret, as we all do, that the former chairman of this subcommittee, the late Phillip Burton, cannot provide the ultimate compromise that he would have so certainly reached. But I know that others can take his place in this particular context, and I know they will find ways to further perfect this legislation in the months ahead.

There is no need to adopt fundamental amendments and no need to hold back on the passage of this bill at this time. If anything, I think we all ought to feel an even greater urgency to move it to the Senate, to work with our Senators to resolve the few remaining impediments that do remain as we make this bill something that every Member of our delegation can strongly support.

I had the opportunity to work out a specific problem with former Congressmen Johnson and Clausen, the problem of Snow Mountain. It now is an issue that needs to be addressed by Mr. Chappie and Mr. Bosco. I think that issue has been permanently resolved. It is typical of the way in which we can in a bipartisan fashion work together to iron out differences.

That process will continue. It will be possible to work with our new Senator Wilson and with Senator Cranston to make certain that this bill fulfills the goals that we all have, and I urge strongly a rejection of amendments and support for final passage of it at this time.

Because this is a good bill which has profited greatly from extensive discussion and analysis. While it may not yet be perfect, it has reached a form in which the Members of this House can support it.

In an area formerly in my district known as Snow Mountain, we were able to work with the drafters of this bill several years ago to strike a fair balance between landowners, the resource interests, and others to architect boundaries that will provide about 37,000 acres of pure wilderness within a 2-hour drive of major northern California population centers.

Very recently it has been brought to my attention that some potential trans-Sierra powerline routes may find their direction more difficult as a result of some wilderness boundaries in the bill. I have full confidence that the legitimacy of this problem can be analyzed fully as the bill is developed in the Senate and in conference, and I have no hesitancy in recommending this measure to my colleagues. Its passage is a fitting tribute to our late colleague Phil Burton and it has broad support in our State as the Sacramento Bee editorial makes clear:

[From the Sacramento Bee, Mar. 24, 1983]

ANOTHER CHANCE FOR WILDERNESS

Twice before, California's congressional representatives have been in near-total agreement, as have most of the interested groups within the State, about how the still-untouched Federal lands in California should be treated in the future. Yet twice, the bill that would codify this agreement into Federal law has been passed overwhelmingly in the House and then tabled in the Senate. The Reagan administration opposed it, and because former Senator S. I. Hayakawa also opposed it, the Senate Republican leadership was able to declare that the California delegation was split and therefore no action on the bill was possible. This year, because Hayakawa has been replaced by California's new Republican Senator Pete Wilson, there is finally a chance to act.

The bill, authored by Representative Phil Burton, would give permanent wilderness protection to 2.2 million acres of the 6.5 million acres of national forest in California that are still roadless and in pristine condition and have not yet been allocated to either preservation or development. (Another 2.1 million acres of California's national forests are already in the wilderness protection system.) The Burton bill would free the rest of the still-wild lands—about 4.3 million acres—for timbering, the building of logging roads and other uses, either immediately or, in some cases, after further study.

The numbers were hammered out in congressional hearings that dealt, parcel by parcel, with each territory and its local community and industries. If Burton and his colleagues have not fully satisfied the timber companies, they have not, by a long shot caved in to the environmentalist either. And while the Reagan administration wants far more development permitted in the national forests, the bill meets important administration needs, too.

It would, for instance, lift a court injunction against development of certain forest lands in California that was imposed because the U.S. Forest Service had not adequately studied them. The Burton bill would put some of those lands into the protected wilderness system, but free about two-thirds for development. The bill also would explicitly prohibit legal challenges to the administration's development efforts in many other California areas—something the administration has been worried about ever since it lost the last lawsuit. In addition, the bill adopts, in total, the Reagan administration's recommendations for wilderness designations within the national parks in California, which are administered separately from the national forests.

Senator Wilson should not have any problem in principle with such a sensible and well-supported resolution of a battle that has been dragging on for years. Moreover, Representative Burton and the dozens of California cosponsors of his bill have said they are willing to make further compromises in the details of the agreement to win Wilson's support. The prognosis is more promising than it ever has been.

But all sides had better act soon. Because of the California court decision enjoining development of certain wild lands, the Reagan administration recently decided that all past Forest Service recommendations about the disposal of these lands are now up for grabs again. And the administration has threatened that, while it is coming up with new recommendations, it will allow development in any forest area where Congress or the courts haven't specifically prohibited it. This includes over 1 million acres in California that the Forest Service itself had originally recommended for wilderness preservation and had been protecting until now.

This ploy was designed by the administration to scare the Californians in Congress into adopting the Reagan wilderness package. But with a better plan of their own already hammered out, the Californians, fortunately, have an alternative. The sooner they adopt it, the less of California's last remaining wilderness will be lost irretrievably to the encroachments of industry.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. Panetta).

Mr. PANETTA. Madam Chairman, I, too, urge support for the passage of H.R. 1437, legislation that has been adopted by the 96th and 97th Congresses.

It does, indeed, protect some of the more important areas of the State: Yosemite, Sequoia, Kings Canyon, Mill Creek, areas in my district as well such as Ventana that are important to protect for the State and the Nation.

Also, it seeks to settle the controversy over RARE II. I understand that there can always be better compromises, and I understand that many of these issues are controversial. I am sensitive to that. But we cannot constantly study and restudy these issues at additional cost, and we are talking about $2 million to $4 million if you want to continue to study this issue. We cannot continue to delay this issue over and over and over again. I think it has to be resolved now. It is a good basis for bargaining. Obviously, there will be compromises made on the Senate side. I think we ought to be sensitive to that process and allow the process to work its will.

This is also, I think, a tribute to the work of Phil Burton. It is a reflection of his careful work on such legislation. I think it is important to pass this, not only because of the good it does for California but because it is a living memorial to the work and dedication of a man whose goal was protecting our resources.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Pashayan).

Mr. PASHAYAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Madam Chairman, I should like to join in the remarks made by my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. Lewis).

In my short time here, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with and then to become friends with the Honorable Phillip Burton. I regret his most untimely passing. I also looked forward to engaging in what would have been a very sharp and yet meaningful exchange on the issue of this California wilderness bill.

It is interesting to note that under the Carter administration, if I have my figures right, the Forest Service recommended that 1.2 million acres be submitted. Their White House brought that up to 1.3 million, and I think this bill contemplates an amount considerably more than that, about 1 million acres more.

So I would have to be one who should stand to oppose the bill. Our late friend, Mr. Burton, was aware of that. We had discussions. Our lines of communications, as they always were, were open on this particular bill, and I was looking forward to engaging in some very interesting and pointed debate on various aspects of the bill.

I know the House is going to pass this bill without any particular delay. In many ways it is the last tribute to this master of politics and procedure who has been taken from us in an untimely fashion, and yet I urge all the Members to take into consideration that there are some Members whose districts were particularly affected by this bill in a manner that was not inuring necessarily to the benefit of the people who live in those districts, and also to take that into consideration as these proceedings go on.

I shall have more to say on the bill at a later time.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Bates).

Mr. BATES. I thank the gentleman for yielding his time to me.

Madam Chairman, I wish to speak in support of the California Wilderness Act, H.R. 1437.

This is the first time that I have spoken since the death of Congressman Phil Burton, and I think he was one of the great environmentalists that this country has ever produced. This act is one of many of his efforts, and I hope it will be enacted.

Madam Chairman, I think the mistakes of the development projects that have occurred in this country are too numerous to mention, but the land and the resources that have been permanently lost can never be retrieved. I think a conservative approach is warranted. No bill is perfect, but if we must err, we should err on the side of the public interest to set aside this land. For to lose this opportunity by not setting aside and designating these areas as wilderness, I think, would be an irretrievable loss. I urge its support.

Madam Chairman, I think one key compromise to note, for those who are interested in pushing the development side of the issue is that the enactment of this legislation will resolve the RARE II issue in California and let the court injunction which currently prohibits 580,000 acres of land from being dealt with and planned, and allow the national forest planning efforts to go forward.

So I urge its enactment today.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, how much time do I have left?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alaska (Mr. Young) has 9 minutes remaining.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I yield myself 4 minutes.

I want to get back to the thesis, Madam Chairman, that there are Members in this body who are affected by this legislation. There was a gentleman who mentioned that we could not study this any longer; it cost a considerable amount of money.

But the facts are, we are not listening to the studies. We are not listening to the experts. We are not listening to the people who really understand the issue. We are listening to the special interests. As long as it is outside your district, it is easy to do.

The previous speaker, I do not think he has any wilderness other than the San Diego Zoo, and I think it is terribly wrong for him to speak about someone's district that has 700,000 acres in it.

Again, most people and those special interest groups are disregarding that man can still become involved in Earth services and maintain its environmental quality. We have made some mistakes. That I will admit. But by passing wilderness legislation we preclude man's activity to improve upon nature's efforts. We cannot have fish rehabilitation. We cannot fight the beetles and the forest fires. We cannot really take care of the land as we should be charged with because we are the only species that can do so.

Yes, there are some areas that should be wilderness. But the legislation that we are dealing with today is beyond anyone else's recommendation and the experts included, from liberal administration to conservative administration. But more than that, I am urging the listening Members of this body to vote for the substitute that will be offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway). If it is defeated, so be it. But that is the true measure of listening to experts, not Mr. Shumway. This was done by those people who we employed at a great cost in money to make the recommendations. Support Mr. Shumway's bill. We will still have millions of acres in the California wilderness area. We will still recognize those pristine, unique areas that will still allow those areas outside that should be better managed by man to be left outside.

Let us vote that way. And it will be, yes, a tribute to the deceased colleague, because last year basically that is what that bill was.

But this year it goes far beyond what anyone thought it would be. We met for negotiation purposes. Now we are going to send a bill over to the Senate and say, "let the Senate work it out."

With all due respect to my good chairman, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling), who does an excellent job, I would feel a lot better if I was confident that the Senators from California would be willing to work it down and work out a compromise in the middle. I am not sure but what they will buy what the gentleman from Ohio is going to offer. That is not fair to Mr. Shumway, Mr. Chappie, Mr. Pashayan, and other Members from California who have districts affected. The Senators represent the State, but these Members represent those districts, and we have to keep reminding ourselves that this should be a body of a representative form of government and not necessarily the national good as long as we are in Congress.

That is what is important here. It is their districts, and we should be listening to them.

The gentleman from California (Mr. Lewis) has made this comment before about the battle of the Alaska amendment. I could possibly understand that a little bit because Alaska in its own right is unique. There is only one Congressman from Alaska, there are 375 million acres of land there, we are 5,480 miles away, and there was a national interest by the President of the United States in it at that time. But I think in this case, when we have a multiple-Representative State such as California, those districts which are affected should be listened to.

Madam Chairman, that is what the bill of the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway) does. I do not think any Member who has land in the area objects to that bill, but they do object to the bill that we have before us right now.

Madam Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, may I inquire, how much time do I have remaining?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall) has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, we only have one speaker left, and I yield the remaining time on our side to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. Weaver).

Mr. WEAVER. Madam Chairman, I thank my fine chairman, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall), for yielding me this time.

This bill is the final legislative testament to one of the greatest careers in this Congress, that of the gentleman from California (Mr. Phillip Burton), who was responsible for, I am sure, as much fine legislation, always in the public interest, as any Member who has ever served here.

This bill takes nothing away. The lands, the trees, the minerals, and the rivers will all still be there. What this bill does is say that we leave as nature gave it to us certain amounts of land so that nature itself can produce the things that nature has always produced.

Nature fights beetles best. It is when man comes into the picture that you have problems. As the California director of the department of fish and game said, north coast counting stations over the past three decades have shown declines of 66 percent in steelhead, declines of 65 percent in silver salmon, and declines of 64 percent in king salmon. That is what happens when we have development, and when we leave these lands in nature, we not only learn about what we are doing to the other lands but we allow nature to heal some of these wounds.

On the Trinity River, I have seen gravel up to the very bottoms of the bridges, making it impossible, of course, for the salmon to spawn. I have had to vote for money in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to build dams, not for water in the Trinity River area but for dirt to keep the dirt from washing down and filling in the rivers where the timber has been logged off on steep slopes.

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Lands and I flew 3 days in helicopters over the Trinity and northern California forests, and what we saw was vast areas where the private lands had been denuded to the point where they were deserts. Then we saw the great national forests, the Trinities, the Siskyous, and others, and we saw key spawning streams still capable of spawning fish, and key areas that are essential to Nature's balance. These are the few areas we want to preserve in this bill.

What does it amount to in these northern California forests? It amounts to 4 or 5 percent of the timber, and that is all. We get as a reward the saving of streams and the preserving of certain areas that will remain secure in the balance of Nature, a balance Phil Burton may not have observed himself but did so much to protect for others.

Mr. MATSUI. Madam Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983. As the guiding spirit behind the conservation movement in the United States, I cannot think of a more fitting tribute to the late Phil Burton than the approval of this legislative proposal before us today.

H.R. 1437 will designate specific lands within California-based national forests as federally protected wilderness areas. In total, over 2.3 million acres in 58 national forest areas would qualify as wilderness and another 72,000 acres will be protected for further wilderness study. The enactment of this legislation would grant finality to the RARE II process for my State.

I supported nearly identical legislation in the 96th and 97th Congresses, as it represented an appropriate method by which to protect California's irreplaceable wilderness lands. With the adoption of Chairman Seiberling's amendment this afternoon, which frees specific lands from further wilderness study until the mid-1990's, H.R. 1437 will protect this Nation's dwindling wilderness resources while permitting reasonable multiple use of nonenvironmentally sensitive areas.

In conclusion, I would urge my colleagues to support H.R. 1437 with no weakening amendments. This measure represents a necessary step in our continuous commitment to preserve vital wilderness areas for ourselves and future generations of Americans.

Mr. BROWN of California. Madam Chairman, I rise today to add my support to H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act, authored by my greatly respected and distinguished colleague from California, the late Phil Burton. I have long been a supporter of our wilderness system, and applaud this addition to permanently preserved lands in California, for the benefit and enjoyment of generations to come.

This bill, which succeeds similar bills introduced in the 97th Congress and the 96th Congress, is the product of 4 years of debate and negotiation. The California delegation and the Interior Committee have studied each portion of the bill individually, making every effort possible to resolve any resource conflicts.

H.R. 1437 sets aside 2.2 million California acres for permanent wilderness protection. It benefits many species of California wildlife, through the preservation of several vital and sensitive habitats. Yet, it also frees up lands previously restricted by the California court injunction and eliminates lands from further wilderness study, allowing them to be used for timber harvesting.

After 4 years of careful consideration and thoughtful compromise, I hope that the dedicated work of my colleague will not be wasted. H.R. 1437 is a thorough, reasonable piece of legislation and I give my wholehearted support to its passage.

Mr. MINETA. Madam Chairman, I rise to support the California wilderness bill.

As we all know, and will discuss later today, this bill is largely the work of one man, Phil Burton. It is a testimony to his determination and dedication to preserving and protecting our natural resources. This bill will be one of many monuments to him.

But it is important to remember that this legislation stands proudly on its own merits. Those areas to be designated as wilderness are entirely worthy and deserving of that status. Just as importantly, those areas released from further study will be available for appropriate careful resource management.

California and the Nation needs this legislation. We cannot afford nor do we need the time or the money to restudy these areas once again. Let us act now, let us act to protect these areas for all of the people of California and the Nation. Let us once again make plain our commitment and dedication to continuing our role as the wise and careful steward of our land, our water, and our air.

I urge the adoption of this bill.

Thank you.

Mr. LEVINE of California. Madam Chairman, I rise in sorrow and in deep admiration for our late colleague Congressman Phil Burton. Phil was not only a good friend, but an effective and committed legislator. Phil served as an inspiration to me as someone who was deeply committed to protecting our precious environment.

With great respect for Phil, and as a cosponsor of the bill, I express my strong support for Phil's last legislative project—one which was dear to his heart—H.R. 1437, the California's Wilderness Act. This bill would preserve some of California's most beautiful areas.

This body has expressed strong support for this bill in the past, as it has passed the House on two previous occasions. In contrast to previous attempts, there is promise for passage in the Senate this session.

I represent 50 miles of California's most gorgeous coastline. My constituents have a deep appreciation for the environment and cherish the opportunity to visit wilderness areas. H.R. 1437 designates several wilderness areas surrounding the Los Angeles area including, Fish Canyon, Dick Smith, Sheep Mountain, San Jacinto, Cucamonga, and Granite Park. The bill also includes areas throughout the rest of California such as the acreage in Yosemite National Park, which are some of the most beautiful places I have visited in the world.

The passage of the California Wilderness Act today would be a fine and appropriate tribute to our colleague Congressman Phil Burton. I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 1437 so that in the future we, as well as future generations, can enjoy some of the most precious areas in the country.

Mr. PATTERSON. Madam Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1437, the California Wilderness Act of 1983, and I commend the chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks for his diligence in pursuing the passage of this legislation. This proposal has been under consideration for a number of years and very similar legislation has been overwhelmingly passed by this Chamber during the 96th and 97th Congresses.

H.R. 1437 establishes a number of desired new wilderness areas, defines logical boundaries for several existing wildernesses, makes other lands available for appropriate development, and provides for future decision on certain controversial areas where additional facts are needed before a final decision can be made. This legislation is a balanced bill and represents the efforts of many Members of the California congressional delegation, who under the devoted leadership of our colleague Phil Burton, worked together to forge a compromise out of many diverse interests and philosophical views regarding national wilderness areas. We could not offer a more fitting memorial to Phil Burton than to expeditiously consider and pass the California wilderness bill without amendment.

As our Nation's largest State, California has many unique natural resources and wildlife that require and warrant protection. Many species of animals are dependent upon old-growth forests for their existence. Despite the fact that there currently is a shortage of such lands that are privately owned we cannot, with a good conscience, trust the future of these species to landowners who have no understanding of the needs of the indigent wildlife or any incentive for preserving their habitat. The most blatant example of such a travesty has been the repeated destruction of prime salmon and steelhead habitats through inappropriate or poorly planned development of the surrounding forests. Other areas included in the bill provide some of the last habitat for a variety of species absolutely dependent upon wilderness, including the endangered California condor, the Sierran big horn sheep, and the southern wolverine.

Try as one might, it is a difficult task to place economic values on the intangible qualities of wilderness. For the urban dwellers of my own district in Orange County, the knowledge that the San Mateo Canyon Wilderness is within an hour's drive offers peace of mind in the bustle of daily living. Even if one were not inclined to visit the area, which is accessible by public transportation, there is comfort in knowing that not all of the land is covered with highways, homes, and hamburger stands—in knowing that our children's children will share in the treasures of this great land.

Madam Chairman, the bill we have before us is the product of years of study, debate, and successful negotiation. Twice the House has favorably passed similar legislation. I urge my colleagues to do the same today. H.R. 1437 should be passed as presented by the Interior Committee so that we move closer toward resolving the wilderness issue in California.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs now printed in the bill shall be considered as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the 5-minute rule. Each section of said substitute shall be considered as having been read. It shall be in order to consider an amendment to said substitute printed in the Congressional Record of March 24, 1983, by Representative Burton of California.

The Clerk will designate section 1.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

The text of the bill, H.R. 1437, is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "California Wilderness Act of 1983".

DESIGNATION OF WILDERNESS

Sec. 2. (a) In furtherance of the purposes of the Wilderness Act, the following lands, as generally depicted on maps, appropriately referenced, dated July 1980 (except as otherwise dated) are hereby designated as wilderness, and therefore, as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System—

(1) certain lands in the Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-nine thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Boundary Peak Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Boundary Peak Wilderness;

(2) certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest, California, which comprise approximately five thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Caliente Wilderness Proposal" dated July 1980, and which shall be known as the Caliente Wilderness;

(3) certain lands in the Eldorado National Forest, California, which comprise approximately fourteen thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map

entitled "Caples Creek Wilderness—Proposed", dated November 1980, and which shall be known as the Caples Creek Wilderness;

(4) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one thousand eight hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Caribou Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Caribou Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(5) certain lands in the Stanislaus and Toiyabe National Forests, California, which comprise approximately one hundred ninety thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Carson-Iceberg Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Carson-Iceberg Wilderness: *Provided, however,* That the designation of the Carson-Iceberg Wilderness shall not preclude continued motorized access to those previously existing facilities which are directly related to permitted livestock grazing activities in the Wolf Creek Drainage on the Toiyabe National Forest in the same manner and degree in which such access was occurring as of the date of enactment of this Act;

(6) certain lands in the Shasta Trinity National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand three hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Castle Crags Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Castle Crags Wilderness;

(7) certain lands in the Shasta Trinity National Forest, California, which comprise approximately eight thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Chancelulla Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Chancelulla Wilderness;

(8) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately fifteen thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Cinder Buttes Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Cinder Buttes Wilderness;

(9) certain lands in the Angeles National Forest, California, which comprise approximately four thousand four hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Cucamonga Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Cucamonga Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(10) certain lands in the Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand six hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Deep Wells Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Deep Wells Wilderness;

(11) certain lands in the Los Padres National Forest, which comprise approximately sixty-seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Dick Smith Wilderness—Proposed", dated October, 1979, and which shall be known as Dick Smith Wilderness: *Provided,* That the Act of March 21, 1968 (82 Stat. 51), which established the San Rafael Wilderness is hereby amended to transfer four hundred and thirty acres of the San Rafael Wilderness to the Dick Smith Wilderness and establish a line one hundred feet north of the centerline of the Buckhorn Fire Road as the southeasterly boundary of the San Rafael Wilderness, as depicted on a map entitled "Dick Smith Wilderness—Proposed", and wherever said Buckhorn Fire Road passes between the San Rafael and Dick Smith Wildernesses and elsewhere at the dis-

cretion of the Forest Service, it shall be closed to all motorized vehicles except those used by the Forest Service for administrative purposes;

(12) certain lands in the Sierra National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Dinkey Lakes Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Dinkey Lakes Wilderness: *Provided,* That within the Dinkey Lakes Wilderness the Secretary of Agriculture shall permit nonmotorized dispersed recreation to continue at a level not less than the level of use which occurred during calendar year 1979;

(13) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Domeland Wilderness Additions—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be part of the Domeland Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(14) certain lands in the Stanislaus National Forest, California, which comprise approximately six thousand one hundred acres, as generally depicited on a map entitled "Emigrant Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Emigrant Wilderness as designated by Public Law 93–632;

(15) certain lands in the Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-six thousand four hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Excelsior Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Excelsior Wilderness;

(16) certain lands in the Angeles National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-two thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Fish Canyon Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Fish Canyon Wilderness;

(17) certain lands in the Tahoe National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-four thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Granite Chief Wilderness—Proposed", dated February 1983, and which shall be known as the Granite Chief Wilderness;

(18) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately ten thousand six hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Granite Peak Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Granite Peak Wilderness;

(19) certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest, California, which comprise approximately eight thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Hauser Wilderness Proposal", dated July 1980, and which shall be known as the Hauser Wilderness;

(20) certain lands in Toiyabe National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-nine thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Hoover Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Hoover Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(21) certain lands in and adjacent to the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-one thousand eight hundred and forty acres as shown on a map entitled "Ishi Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Ishi Wilderness;

(22) certain lands in the Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately nine thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "John Muir Wilderness Additions, Inyo National Forest—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the John Muir Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(23) certain lands in the Sierra National Forest, California, which comprise approximately eighty-one thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "John Muir Wilderness Additions, Sierra National Forest—Proposed", dated February 1983, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the John Muir Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577: *Provided,* That the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to modify the boundaries of the John Muir Wilderness Additions and the Dinkey Lakes Wilderness as designated by this Act in the event he determines that portions of the existing primitive road between the two wilderness areas should be relocated for environmental protection or other reasons. Any relocated wilderness boundary shall be placed no more than three hundred feet from the centerline of any new primitive roadway and shall become effective upon publication of a notice of such relocation in the Federal Register;

(24) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately three thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Lassen Volcanic Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and shall be deemed to be a part of the Lassen Volcanic Wilderness as designated by Public Law 92–510;

(25) certain lands in the Klamath National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-eight thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Marble Mountain Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and shall be deemed to be a part of the Marble Mountain Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(26) certain lands in the Sierra and Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately nine thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Minarets Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Minarets Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(27) certain lands in the Eldorado, Stanislaus, and Toiyabe National Forests, California, which comprise approximately sixty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Mokelumne Wilderness Additions—Proposed", dated November 1980, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Mokelumne Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(28) certain lands in the Sierra and Sequoia National Forests, California, which comprise approximately fifty-five thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Monarch Wilderness—Proposed", dated February 1983, and which shall be known as the Monarch Wilderness;

(29) certain lands in the Shasta Trinity National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Mt. Shasta Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Mt. Shasta Wilderness;

(30) certain lands in the Six Rivers National Forest, California, which comprise approximately eight thousand one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "North Fork Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the North Fork Wilderness;

(31) certain lands in the Shasta Trinity National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-eight thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Pattison Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Pattison Wilderness;

(32) certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirteen thousand one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Pine Creek Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Pine Creek Wilderness;

(33) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seventeen thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Pyramid Peak Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Pyramid Peak Wilderness;

(34) certain lands in the Klamath and Rogue River National Forests, California, which comprise approximately thirty-one thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Red Buttes Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Red Buttes Wilderness;

(35) certain lands in the Klamath National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twelve thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Russian Peak Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Russian Peak Wilderness;

(36) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-one thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Gorgonio Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the San Gorgonio Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(37) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately ten thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Jacinto Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the San Jacinto Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577: *Provided, however,* That the Secretary of Agriculture may pursuant to an application filed prior to January 1, 1983, grant a right-of-way for, and authorize construction of, a transmission line or lines within the area depicted as "potential powerline corridor" on the map entitled "San Jacinto Wilderness Additions—Proposed": *Provided further,* That if a power transmission line is constructed within such corridor, the corridor shall cease to be a part of the San Jacinto Wilderness and the Secretary of Agriculture shall publish notice thereof in the Federal Register;

(38) certain lands in the Sierra and Inyo National Forests and the Devils Postpile National Monument, California, which comprise approximately one hundred and ten thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Joaquin Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as San Joaquin Wilderness: *Provided, however,* That nothing in this Act shall be construed

to prejudice, alter, or affect in any way, any rights or claims of right to the diversion and use of waters from the North Fork of the San Joaquin River, or in any way to interfere with the construction, maintenance, repair, or operation of the Jackass-Chiquito hydroelectric power project (or the Granite Creek-Jackass alternative project) as proposed by the Upper San Joaquin River Water and Power Authority: *Provided further,* That the designation of the San Joaquin Wilderness shall not preclude continued motorized access to those previously existing facilities which are directly related to permitted livestock grazing activities nor operation and maintenance of the existing cabin located in the vicinity of the Heitz Meadow Guard Station within the San Joaquin Wilderness, in the same manner and degree in which such access and operation and maintenance of such cabin were occurring as of the date of enactment of this Act;

(39) certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-nine thousand five hundred and forty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Mateo Canyon Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the San Mateo Canyon Wilderness;

(40) certain lands in the Los Padres National Forest, California, which comprise approximately two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Rafael Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the San Rafael Wilderness as designated by Public Law 90–271;

(41) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty thousand one hundred and sixty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Santa Rosa Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Santa Rosa Wilderness;

(42) certain lands in and adjacent to the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-eight thousand acres, as generally depicted as a map entitled "Scodies Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Scodies Wilderness;

(43) certain lands in the Angeles and San Bernardino National Forests, California, which comprise approximately forty-four thousand six hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Sheep Mountain Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Sheep Mountain Wilderness;

(44) certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest, California, which comprise approximately five thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Sill Hill Wilderness Proposed", dated July 1980, and which shall be known as the Sill Hill Wilderness;

(45) certain lands in the Six Rivers, Klamath, and Siskiyou National Forests, California, which comprise approximately one hundred and ninety-one thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Siskiyou Wilderness—Proposed", dated February 1983, and which shall be known as the Siskiyou Wilderness;

(46) certain lands in the Mendocino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Snow Mountain Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Snow Mountain Wilderness;

(47) certain lands in the Sequoia Inyo National Forests, California, which comprise approximately seventy-seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "South Sierra Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the South Sierra Wilderness;

(48) certain lands in the Modoc National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one thousand nine hundred and forty acres as generally depicted on a map entitled "South Warner Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the South Warner Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(49) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Thousand Lakes Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Thousand Lakes Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(50) certain lands in and adjacent to the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Timbered Crater Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Timbered Crater Wilderness;

(51) certain lands in and adjacent to the Klamath, Shasta Trinity and Six Rivers National Forests, California, which comprise approximately five hundred thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Trinity Alps Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Trinity Alps Wilderness;

(52) certain lands in the Los Padres National Forest, California, which comprise approximately two thousand seven hundred and fifty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Ventana Wilderness Addition—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Ventana Wilderness as designated by Public Laws 91–58 and 95–237; and

(53) certain lands in and adjacent to the Six Rivers and Mendocino National Forests, California, which comprise approximately forty-six thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Yolla-Bolly Middle Eel Additions—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Yolla-Bolly Middle Eel Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(54) certain lands in and adjacent to the Los Padres National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Machesna Mountain Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Machesna Mountain Wilderness;

(55) certain lands in the Plumas National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-one thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Bucks Lake Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Bucks Lake Wilderness;

(56) certain lands in the Eldorado and Toiyabe National Forests and in the Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit, California, which comprise approximately twenty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled

"Echo-Carson Wilderness—Proposed", dated February 1983, and which shall be known as the Echo-Carson Wilderness;

(57) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately nine thousand eight hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Mill Creek Wilderness—Proposed", dated February 1983, and which shall be known as the Mill Creek Wilderness.

(58) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, which comprise approximately ten thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Jennie Lakes Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Jennie Lakes Wilderness.

(b) The previous classifications of the High Sierra Primitive Area, Emigrant Basin Primitive Area, and the Salmon-Trinity Alps Primitive Area are hereby abolished.

MONACHE WILDERNESS STUDY AREA

Sec. 3. (a) In furtherance of the purposes of the Wilderness Act, the following lands shall be reviewed by the Secretary of Agriculture as to their suitability for preservation as wilderness. The Secretary shall submit his report and findings to the President, and the President shall submit his recommendation to the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate no later than three years from the date of enactment of this Act:

(1) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Monache Wilderness Study Area", dated July 1980, and which shall be known as the Monache Wilderness Study Area.

(b) Subject to valid existing rights, the wilderness study area designated by this section shall, until Congress determines otherwise, be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture so as to maintain its presently existing wilderness character and potential for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System: *Provided,* That within the Monache Wilderness Study Area the level of use existing during the year ending June 30, 1980, shall be permitted to continue.

ADMINISTRATION OF WILDERNESS AREAS

Sec. 4. (a) Subject to valid existing rights, each wilderness area designated by this Act shall be administered by the Secretary concerned in accordance with the provisions of the Wilderness Act: *Provided,* That any reference in such provisions to the effective date of the Wilderness Act shall be deemed to be a reference to the effective date of this Act.

(b) Within the National Forest wilderness areas designated by this Act—

(1) as provided in subsection 4(d)(4)(2) of the Wilderness Act, the grazing of livestock, where established prior to the date of enactment of this Act, shall be permitted to continue subject to such reasonable regulations, policies and practices as the Secretary deems necessary, as long as such regulations, policies and practices fully conform with and implement the intent of Congress regarding grazing in such areas as such intent is expressed in the Wilderness Act and this Act;

(2) as provided in subsection 4(d)(1) of the Wilderness Act, the Secretary concerned may take such measures as are necessary in the control of fire, insects, and diseases, subject to such conditions as he deems desirable; and

(3) as provided in section 4(b) of the Wilderness Act, the Secretary concerned shall administer such areas so as to preserve their wilderness character and to devote them to the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use.

(c) Within sixty days of the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture shall enter into negotiations to acquire by exchange or otherwise (on a willing-buyer-willing-seller basis and at the landowner's option) all or part of any privately owned lands within the Trinity Alps, Granite Chief, Castle Craigs, and Mount Shasta Wilderness areas as designated by this Act. Such acquisition shall to the maximum extent practicable, be completed within three years after the date of enactment of this Act. Market and exchange values shall be determined without reference to any restrictions on access or use which arise out of designation as a wilderness area.

FILING OF MAPS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Sec. 5. As soon as practicable after enactment of this Act, a map and a legal description on each wilderness area shall be filed with the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, and each such map and description shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided,* That correction of clerical and typographical errors in each such legal description and map may be made. Each such map and legal description shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the Chief of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture.

ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

Sec. 6. (a) The following lands are hereby added to the national park system:

(1) certain lands in the Sierra National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Mt. Raymond Addition, Yosemite National Park—Proposed", dated July 1980, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of Yosemite National Park;

(2) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Jennie Lakes Additions, Kings Canyon National Park—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed a part of Kings Canyon National Park;

(3) certain lands in the Stanislaus National Forest, California, which comprise approximately eight thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "North Mountain Addition, Yosemite National Park—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of Yosemite National Park;

(4) certain lands which comprise approximately 185 acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "McCauley Ranch Addition, Yosemite National Park", dated December 1982 and numbered 80,021, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be part of Yosemite National Park.

(b) Upon enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture shall transfer the lands described in subsection (a) of this section without consideration, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior for administration as part of the national park system. The boundaries of the national forests and national parks shall be adjusted accordingly. The areas added to the national park system by this section shall be administered in accordance with the provisions of law generally applicable to units of the national park system.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior shall study the lands added to the natioanl park system by subsection (a) of this section for possible designation as national park wilderness, and shall report to the Congress his recommendations as to the suitability or nonsuitability of the designation of such lands as wilderness by not later than three years after the effective date of this Act.

(d) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior for administration as a part of Yosemite National Park, two hundred and fifty-three acres of the Stanislaus National Forest at Crocker Ridge, identified as all that land lying easterly of a line beginning at the existing park boundary and running three hundred feet west of and parallel to the center line of the park road designated as State Highway 120, also known as the New Big Oak Flat Road, within section 34, township 1 south, range 19 east, and within sections 4, 9, and 10, township 2 south, range 19 east, Mount Diablo base and meridian. The boundary of Yosemite National Park and the Stanislaus National Forest shall be adjusted accordingly.

(e) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture one hundred and sixty acres within the boundary of the Sierra National Forest identified as the northwest quarter of section 16, township 5 south, range 22 east, Mount Diablo base meridian, subject to the right of the Secretary of the Interior to the use of the water thereon for park purposes, including the right of access to facilities necessary for the transportation of water to the park.

NATIONAL PARK WILDERNESS

SEC. 7. The following lands are hereby designated as wilderness in accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act (78 Stat. 890; 16 U.S.C. 1132(c)) and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act:

(1) Yosemite National Park Wilderness, comprising approximately six hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising approximately three thousand five hundred and fifty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Yosemite National Park, California", numbered 104–20, 003–E dated July 1980, and shall be known as the Yosemite Wilderness;

(2) Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks Wilderness, comprising approximately seven hundred and thirty-six thousand nine hundred and eighty acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising approximately one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness

Plan—Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Parks—California", numbered 102-20, 003-E and dated July 1980, and shall be known as the Sequoia-Kings Canyon Wilderness.

MAP AND DESCRIPTION

SEC. 8. A map and description of the boundaries of the areas designated in section 7 of this Act shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the Director of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and in the Office of the Superintendent of each area designated in section 7. As soon as practicable after this Act takes effect, maps of the wilderness areas and descriptions of their boundaries shall be filed with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate, and such maps and description shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided,* That correction of clerical and typographical errors in such maps and descriptions may be made.

CESSATION OF CERTAIN USES

SEC. 9. Any lands (in section 7 of this Act) which represent potential wilderness additions upon publication in the Federal Register of a notice by the Secretary of the Interior that all uses thereon prohibited by the Wilderness Act have ceased, shall thereby be designated wilderness. Lands designated as potential wilderness additions shall be managed by the Secretary insofar as practicable as wilderness until such time as said lands are designated as wilderness.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 10. The areas designated by section 7 of this Act as wilderness shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act governing areas designated by that Act as wilderness, except that any reference in such provisions to the effective date of the Wilderness Act shall be deemed to be a reference to the effective date of this Act, and where appropriate, any reference to the Secretary of Agriculture shall be deemed to be a reference to the Secretary of the Interior.

SIX RIVERS PLANNING AREAS

SEC. 11. (a) The following planning areas shall be reviewed by the Secretary of Agriculture as to their suitability or nonsuitability for preservation as wilderness. The Secretary shall submit his report and findings to the President, and the President shall submit his recommendations to the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate no later than three years from the date of enactment of this Act:

(1) certain lands in the Six Rivers National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Orleans Mountain Planning Area", dated July 1980: *Provided,* That within the area shown on such map as the "Ski Study Area" the Secretary shall conduct a special study as to the suitability or nonsuitability of the area for location of an alpine ski facility. In conducting such ski study the Secretary shall consider the need for an alpine ski facility in the region,

climatological factors, the feasibility and location of possible road access to any ski facility and the impact of ski development on other multiple uses.

(b) Subject to valid existing rights, the planning areas designated by this section shall, until Congress determines otherwise, be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture so as to maintain their presently existing wilderness character.

(c) Until Congress determines otherwise, timber volumes within the planning areas designated by this section shall be included in the base used to determine potential yield for the national forest concerned.

(d) Notwithstanding any existing or future administrative designation or recommendation, mineral prospecting, exploration, development, or mining of cobalt and associated minerals undertaken under the United States mining laws within the North Fork Smith roadless area (RARE II, 5–707, Six Rivers National Forest, California) shall be subject to only such Federal laws and regulations as are generally applicable to national forest lands designated as nonwilderness.

SEVERABILITY

Sec. 12. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application thereof shall not be affected thereby.

Amendment Offered by Mr. Seiberling

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment. This is the amendment printed at page H1811 of the Congressional Record by Mr. Burton of California.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Seiberling: On page 30, after line 15, add the following new section:

WILDERNESS REVIEW CONCERNS

Sec. 13. (a) The Congress finds that—

(1) the Department of Agriculture has completed the second roadless area review and evaluation program (RARE II);

(2) the Congress had made its own review and examination of national forest roadless areas in California and of the environmental impacts associated with alternative allocations of such areas.

(b) On the basis of such review, the Congress hereby determines and directs that—

(1) without passing on the question of the legal and factual sufficiency of the RARE II Final Environmental Statement (dated January 1979) with respect to national forest lands in States other than California, such statement shall not be subject to judicial review with respect to National Forest System lands in the State of California;

(2) upon enactment of this Act, the injunction issued by the United States District Court for the Eastern District of California in *State of California* v. *Bergland* (483 F. Supp. 465 (1980)) shall no longer be by force;

(3) with respect to the National Forest lands in the State of California which were reviewed by the Department of Agriculture in the second roadless area review and evaluation (RARE II), except those lands remaining in further planning upon enactment of this Act, that review and evaluation shall be deemed for the purposes of the initial land management plans required for such lands by the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 as amended by the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94–588) to be an adequate consideration of the suitability of such lands for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System and the Department of Agriculture shall not be required to review the wilderness option prior to the revision of the initial plans and in no case prior to the date established by law for completion of the initial planning cycle;

(4) areas reviewed in such Final Environmental Statement and not designated as wilderness by this Act or remaining in further planning upon enactment of this Act need not be managed for the purposes of protecting their suitability for wilderness designation pending revision of the inital plans;

(5) unless expressly authorized by Congress, the Department of Agriculture shall not conduct any further statewide roadless area review and evaluation of national forest system lands in the State of California for the purpose of determining their suitability for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System.

Mr. SEIBERLING (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, this is the standard release and sufficiency amendment that is commonly known as the California release and sufficiency amendment because it was first worked out in the 96th Congress with respect to the California RARE II wilderness issue. It was worked out in a meeting with the then ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the House and myself present, as well as representatives from the National Forest Products Association, the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, the Chief of the Forest Service, and the ranking Democratic member in whose district many of these lands were located, Mr. Bizz Johnson, along with the ranking Republican member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Mr. Don Clausen.

The amendment has been accepted by the Congress and included in almost every single wilderness bill that has passed into law, since the RARE II proposals were first made.

Basically, it does two things. It says that the injunction that was issued by the U.S. district court, since upheld by the circuit court of appeals, with respect to national forest lands in California in the case of the State of California against Bergland will no longer be in force, and, therefore, it opens up the lands which were covered by that injunction to nonwilderness use. And it says that with respect to national forest lands that are not included in wilderness in this bill, or remaining in further planning, they shall no longer be required to be managed to preserve their wilderness character until the next review as mandated by the National Forest Management Act takes place.

Basically, those are the provisions of the amendment, Madam Chairman, and at this time I yield to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture for any comments he cares to make.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I rise, first, to show my appreciation to the gentleman for continuing with the amendment that was offered by the gentleman from California, Mr. Burton, and, second, to say that the Committee on Agriculture, which has either joint or sequential jurisdiction—depending on how bills are written—with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, has always been able to work out the jurisdictional differences.

We have done that, first, to see that the public is protected, and, second, that the wishes of the Committee on Jurisdiction are carried out. We always like to insist on cooperation, and I hope that we will continue having this type of cooperation so that release language would be incorporated into these type of bills in order that we may have that necessary protection.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I assure the gentleman that that is my intention.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. I join the gentleman in support of the amendment and in support of the legislation. As has been mentioned here before, I think that this would be a tribute to a great legislator, a great parliamentarian, and one who has worked diligently in his own way, as all of us are prone to admit, but dedicated, nonetheless, to preserve for posterity and for future generations some of the pristine lands that we as a nation share as our patrimony.

I would join with the gentleman in dedicating our effort to Phil Burton, who worked so diligently on this legislation.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

Madam Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time on this amendment.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, we have no objection to the amendment and will accept the amendment on this side.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling).

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other amendments?

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. SHUMWAY

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, I offer amendments and ask unanimous consent that they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments offered by Mr. Shumway: On page 16, line 17, delete "one hundred and ninety-one" and insert "one hundred and sixty-one";

On page 10, line 7, delete "thirty-eight thousand" and insert "seven thousand six hundred".

On page 10, line 22, delete "sixty thousand" and insert "six hundred and forty".

Mr. SHUMWAY (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered as read and printed in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, I have put these two amendments en bloc before the House because they both arise in the same national forest, that is, Klamath National Forest in Siskiyou County.

The first one, dealing with Dillon Creek, consists of some 30,000 acres of roadless land; likewise, the second one dealing with Wooley Creek is similarly 30,000 acres.

With reference to Dillon Creek, this particular area is estimated to produce something like 6 million board feet per year of timber. It therefore represents a very important timber resource of the lumber mills of Happy Camp, for Medford, Oreg., for Arcadia and Yreka, Calif.

Shutting off this potential supply of timber will really aggravate an already very tight timber supply situation and simply help to perpetuate the high priced Government timber sale contracts that we have given our attention to in the past.

Contrary to the position taken by those who advocate wilderness, multiple-use management of an area like this is possible while still maintaining very sensitive stream habitats. I am satisfied that the Forest Service has given a great deal of thought to this particular combination. They have advanced a plan under the National Forest Management Act whereby they can provide the necessary protection now, whereas they were not able to do so in the past. Given the advanced state of roadbuilding technology and the increased awareness of the sensitivity of the environment, I believe that we could have the kind of multiple uses consisting of timber management, timber harvesting, and still preserve some of the natural scenic values in this area.

I am hopeful that we allow a plan like this to take effect and to demonstrate what it can do. As I understand from reading that plan, simply with reference to Dillon Creek, it would classify about 16 percent of the area, mostly in watershed zones, as extremely unstable and, therefore, unsuited for timber management. It would classify 60 percent of the area for timber management and the rest of the area for nontimber resources, which would mean recreation, preservation of important cultural, botanical, and visual values.

If Dillon Creek is designated wilderness, the Forest Service would be prohibited from making stream habitat improvements which they estimate would increase anadromous fish in the stream by 11,000 to 15,000 pounds. It is for this reason that the Del Norte Fishermen's Association has opposed wilderness designation for Dillon Creek.

With reference to Wooley Creek, we have a similar situation. Here the area is estimated to produce something over 9 million board feet per year and it is because of this important statistic that the Department of Agriculture has made the decision to recommend against wilderness designation, even though it was part of RARE II.

As in the case of Dillon Creek, mitigation measures can and could be required to protect sensitive stream habitats. For example, if declared to be nonwilderness, the Klamath National Forest would classify about 15 percent of the area as extremely unstable and again, therefore, unsuited for timber production. Only about 11,000 acres, far less than half, would be managed for timber. The rest would be managed for undeveloped recreation and again for the preservation of cultural, botanical, and visual values.

Madam Chairman, it seems to me that we have come to the point where we should allow this kind of forest management to demonstrate what it can do. I am satisfied that it would allow areas like this to be used both for those values which are important to the proponents of this bill, as well as those multiple uses which many of us believe the public is entitled to enjoy.

It is for this reason, Madam Chairman, that I urge this amendment and ask all the Members present to support it.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Madam Chairman, Dillon Creek is one of but two remaining streams in the Klamath River system which is totally unbisected by roads and which has relatively little roading in its entire watershed. This makes it extremely valuable for scientific research.

Beyond that, Dillon Creek has been recommended for retention in its undeveloped natural state, that is, wilderness, by the California Department of Fish and Game and here is what they said in their recommendation:

> Logging and associated road construction would also result in unacceptable damage to important fisheries resources in the Dillon Creek drainage due to increased erosion and siltation. Present wildlife and recreation values would be greatly reduced, particularly by roads constructed in the crest zone. Adverse effects on fish, wildlife, and existing ecological systems cannot be reversed after the damage is done.

If you want to see it with your own eyes, just go out in the Speaker's lobby and look at those photographs of what has happened to some of these steep slope areas in northern California in this very region that has been logged and see what the logging roads and the clear cuts have done to those fishing spawning areas.

This was one of the real concerns of Don Clausen, former ranking Republican on the Interior Committee, when we went through this area with him several years ago.

Among the fish and wildlife values present in Dillon Creek are spring run steelhead trout, 1 of less than 10 such runs remaining in the State. The 6½ million board feet of annual potential timber yield in Dillon Creek represent only 2.3 percent of the total potential yield of the Klamath National Forest. This volume could easily be recaptured by more intensive forestry elsewhere in the forest where fish and wildlife resources are less critical and where problems of steep slopes and soil stability are less severe.

The Dillon Creek area protected by this bill has already been compromised to exclude lower elevation lands with heavy commercial timber. Further compromise is not possible without invading the sensitive watershed of Dillon Creek itself. If the Dillon Creek compromise is to be reexamined, then the nonwilderness portion which represents 8½ million board feet of highly productive timberland should also be reexamined.

Now, going to Wooley Creek, Wooley Creek really should not be in dispute at all. It was recommended for protection in its natural state by Governor Reagan in 1973 and for wilderness by the Forest Service in RARE II.

Wilderness designation was also supported by the Siskiyou County Board of Supervisors in RARE II and by the timber industry in previous versions of the California wilderness bill.

The only reason Wooley Creek is in dispute today is because of an arbitrary decision made in Washington, D.C., to delete this area from wilderness recommendation status.

The Forest Service touts Wooley Creek as being one of the cleanest and clearest streams in the State and it is the only tributary of the Klamath and Salmon Rivers which supports both spring run king salmon and summer steelhead trout.

Fish counts conducted annually by the California Department of Fish and Game indicate that Wooley Creek is the most important summer steelhead drainage remaining in the Klamath River system. Although there is some commercial timber in the area, a 1981 research paper by the Forest Service rated the area's overall erosion hazard as extreme. Previous attempts at roadbuilding in the vicinity have resulted in serious erosion problems and the one nearby road had to be closed due to landslides.

The Wooley Creek addition to the Marble Mountain Wilderness was part of a compromise in which approximately 10.2 million board feet of annual potential yield currently under court injunction and sought for wilderness by environmental groups is to be made available for timber harvest. If this compromise is to be reopened the injunction release areas should also be reexamined.

Wooley Creek is one of the top priorities of the fishing groups such as the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Associations and the California Trout, Inc.

I will read a letter that I just received today from Richard H. May, president of California Trout. He states:

> CALIFORNIA TROUT, *April 8, 1983.*
>
> The CHAIRMAN,
> *Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks,*
> *House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*
>
> SIR: To protect the remnant dwindling numbers of the magnificent Summer Steelhead remaining in California it is absolutely imperative that Wooley Creek be included for wilderness protection under legislation now pending before your subcommittee as requested by Congressman Phil Burton.
>
> Mr. Burton realizes there are no tools other than wilderness, available to protect the critical habitat of this unique fish.
>
> Thank you for considering this important amendment.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> RICHARD H. MAY, *President.*

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway).

The amendments were rejected.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. CRAIG

Mr. CRAIG. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Craig: Add a new section and number accordingly.
>
> DILLON CREEK
>
> Sec. . (a) Certain lands in the Klamath National Forest, California which comprise approximately thirty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Dillon Creek Further Planning Area", dated July 1980, shall be considered for all uses, including wilderness, during the preparation of a forest plan for the Klamath National Forest pursuant to section 6 of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974, as amended.
>
> (b) Pending completion of the plan, development activities such as timber harvest, road construction, and other activities that may reduce wilderness

potential of the land will be prohibited. Activities permitted by prior rights, existing law, and other established uses may continue pending final disposition of the area. Although no harvesting of timber will be allowed other than for emergency reasons, standing timber on commercial forest land in the area will be used to determine allowable sale quantity.

(c) Recommendations for the Dillon Creek Further Planning Area shall be submitted to the Congress and, unless the Congress enacts legislation to the contrary within one hundred and eighty calendar days while Congress is in session, the Dillon Creek Area shall be designated for the use recommended and managed accordingly, beginning January 1, 1986.

Mr. CRAIG (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Idaho?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam Chairman, the amendment I have put before you is what I believe to be a compromise to at least that portion of the amendment offered by my colleague from California (Mr. Shumway) dealing with Dillon Creek. My amendment would place Dillon Creek in further planning status.

This is an amendment that is not new to this body. Last year in the California wilderness legislation that was before the 97th Congress this compromise was finally agreed upon by our deceased colleague, Mr. Burton. It is also a compromise that is in the Senate bill No. 5 which is Senator Cranston's California wilderness package. It takes into consideration some of the concerns that are expressed by the chairman of the Public Lands Subcommittee, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling), and that are expressed by my colleague from California (Mr. Shumway) as it relates to that delicate balance that all of us are concerned about in the Dillon Creek area, that balance being one in which we must express our concern about the fisheries and the maintenance of those fisheries while at the same time recognizing that there can be nearly 6 million board feet annual timber harvest coming from that area under a planned management approach that the Forest Service has instituted. The Forest Service believes their management plan will render that watershed and, therefore, the fishery in a safe position to allow for the propagation of fish.

I am not going to go any further into this. I think the problems were adequately discussed by both sides a minute ago as it relates to the amendment that preceded this.

This would merely take Dillon Creek, place it into a further planning status, which would allow them for this Congress and only the Congress to decide by 1986 under what status this particular acreage would be placed.

The amendment, therefore, the new section that I have offered, is exactly the wording that was in last year's California wilderness legislation and I would urge the committee to adopt it.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I would like to accommodate the gentleman and accept this amendment but the fact that this was in the previous bill and that the gentleman from California (Mr. Burton) changed that and put this area in wilderness makes me feel that there must have been some information that came to his attention that caused him to change his position. I am aware of the critical steelhead trout habitat, and perhaps that influenced his decision.

Since we have not had an opportunity to explore the ramifications of this I feel that this is not the time for me to accept the amendment.

Let me assure the gentleman that since it is this way in the Senate bill, and since probably it will stay that way, there are going to have to be compromises and adjustments, and I am going to work with the people on both sides of the aisle and at the other end of the Capitol to work out a bill that is going to be an accommodation, as far as is humanly possible. And, what is more, is going to be signed by President Reagan.

I feel it would be better if we not try to adopt this amendment at this time because Dillon Creek is an extremely important fishery resource and I would be reluctant to agree to reducing the area to wilderness study without having more information than I have at the present time, and without consulting with the fishermen and the experts at the California Department of Fish and Game.

Mr. CRAIG. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEIBERLING. I am happy to yield.

Mr. CRAIG. I appreciate the gentleman's comments and concern to work out the necessary compromises that I think this bill cries out for. I think we all can agree that the master legislative craftsman that our colleague Phil Burton was speaks out very loudly in H.R. 1437.

In fact, this was, if you will, the base ground from which to work to bring about that compromise.

I know in conversation with him last week we discussed this area and he recognized some of the difficulties that would be brought by his legislation.

I appreciate my chairman saying that he will work with all parties involved.

One of the concerns I have had that is not only echoed in this particular piece of wilderness legislation but I think has been echoed by my colleague from northern California, Congressman Bosco, and a good many others, is that in the process of fashioning wilderness legislation as we are all going to be involved in here in the coming months that we take into consideration in a most important and honorable way the concerns of those individual Congressmen as to the effect it might have on their districts.

I think that, at least I hope in your comments, Mr. Chairman, that you are recognizing the importance of bringing about some of those kinds of considerations in fashioning the final product to wilderness legislation not only for California but for a good many other States that will be involved in this process.

Mr. SEIBERLING. That has to be the case. I put great weight on the advice that we get from the Congressman that represents the area. Sometimes they take a harder line on matters where I might be inclined to be more accommodating, but I will try to do as objective a job as I can.

I toyed with the question of whether to suggest that we defer taking up this bill today but the last words of Phillip Burton to me last Thursday were "By all means, I want you to go ahead with this bill next Tuesday." At the time he was feeling ill. Although it was not the illness that apparently finally led to his demise, I felt that after reviewing the situation that this is what he would want us to do.

Nevertheless, there are some loose ends to be closed. There is additional information to be absorbed and discussions to be had and I think that as far as possible, except for very minor changes, we ought to try to keep this bill intact and then work on it in conference as I pledge to do.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. Craig).

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WALKER

Mr. WALKER. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Walker: On page 30, after line 15, add the following new section:

SEC. 13. The Secretary of Agriculture may, upon application by the State of California, waive any provision of this Act which can be shown to result in a significant increase in unemployment.

Mr. WALKER. Madam Chairman, I am going to speak today from the Democratic side of the well. My friend, John Rousselot, when he was a Member used to say, "When you are going to talk to the Republicans, you ought to talk on the Republican side, and when you are going to talk to the Democrats you ought to talk on the Democratic side."

So, for a little bit, I am going to talk to the Democrats because this has become known as the "Phil Burton Memorial Bill" on the floor. But I submit Phil Burton was not only an environmentalist, he was extremely concerned about the jobs issue as well, about labor.

This amendment I am bringing before you today speaks to that question that arises between the no-growth philosophy and the jobs issue.

I am speaking to many of those on the Democratic side of the aisle today because when this same amendment was up on the Oregon wilderness bill the Republicans voted for a similar amendment, while the Democrats voted against it.

I want to say to my Democratic colleagues on this issue, "To some extent, gentlemen and ladies you are being set up. The last time you voted on this amendment you were told it was the superfluous Walker amendment that really had nothing to do with the details of the bill."

But, this really is a question of priorities. We really are talking here about where you set your priorities.

One columnist, a national columnist, taking a look at the vote cast on the Oregon wilderness bill said it comes down to a choice.

It came down to a choice between trees and jobs and the Democrats chose trees.

Now, both of those happen to be important. But the question that you have to begin to consider is: Which is the most important? Which in your mind is the most important thing that you have to consider as you consider these kinds of bills?

That is the dilemma that I am portraying a little bit with my cartoons here today. I am saying that that is the choice between the two, trees or the job ladder; I am saying that it is in fact a dilemma for most people as to which direction they are going to go, which direction the committee asks you to go and that the final result will be if you follow the committee that what you will do is take the axe to jobs and not to trees.

Well, you are being set up, my friends, by your leadership that is asking you to choose this kind of no-growth, antijob philosophy over a provision which is distinctly job oriented.

After the debate was over on this amendment in the Oregon wilderness bill, one committee member told the press that this issue, that the jobs question that we addressed, was frivolous and mischievous. He went on further to say and I quote, "The jobs issue is so damned phoney." Well, I ask you is that what you really believe? That attempts to save jobs are frivolous and mischievous, that the issue is a phoney? I will tell you this, the affected labor unions do not think it is a phoney and they do not think it is mischievous or frivolous. In fact, I have a letter from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, AFL–CIO, that addresses me on this amendment saying:

> DEAR CONGRESSMAN WALKER: On behalf of 800,000 members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, we wish to express our strong support for your job creation amendment to H.R. 1437.

Labor thinks this is a basic fundamental issue that must be addressed. The rank and file of the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party thinks that this is a basic issue as well.

Just the other day in Massachusetts there was a vote, all of the various Presidential contenders were paraded before delegates to a Massachusetts convention. Second in their selection process they chose jobs over any of them. It was interesting because it did not say ignore this when it comes to trees, do not consider jobs when you are talking about trees; it said jobs were important to them. I am saying in the amendment I am offering right now jobs are important.

I know that the proponents of this measure claim they are going to create jobs with what they are doing. I say that is fine. Then there is absolutely no harm in passing the amendment that I am proposing because let me again tell you what that language says. That language says the Secretary of Agriculture may upon application by the State of California waive any provision of this act which can be shown to result in a significant increase in unemployment.

In other words, if the proponents of the bill are right and if in fact jobs are going to be created my provisions would never come into play.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. Walker was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. WALKER. This provision would never come into play if in fact jobs are created.

However, if as some people who oppose this bill contend, jobs are lost, then I think we deserve to have this kind of protection in the language. The Department of Agriculture estimates that there will be 500 to 900 direct job losses and 1,000 more indirect jobs lost as a result of this legislation. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners estimates that 5,683 jobs will be lost as a result of approving this legislation. Now it seems to me that we ought to be concerned about those kinds of possibilities, we ought to be speaking to them in some kind of language in this measure. Is it phoney? Is it frivolous to want to offer some kind of protection against those kinds of potential problems? We are talking about a question of priorities. Where are your priorities going to lie? Are trees more important to you in the order of things that you perceive than people working and people producing? That is the issue addressed in this amendment.

I will say flatly, trees are important, but far more important are jobs. Let me close with a poem, a little poem I present with apologies to Joyce Kilmer. I think I shall never see a thing as lovely as a tree, but if it is me you are going to rob, take the tree and not my job.

Mr. UDALL. I move to strike the last word. I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Let me tell you what this incredible amendment says. I have never seen anything like it. It says the Secretary of Agriculture may, and this is 5 years from now or 10 years from now I suppose, may upon application by the State of California waive any provisions of this act which can be shown to result in a significant increase in unemployment.

You are giving to one member of the Cabinet the power to override an act of Congress. You are not telling him what proceedings he has to have, what findings he has to make; it is unconstitutionally vague if it is nothing else. But there is a fallacy here reflected in the arguments of my friend for his amendment. The fallacy is that we have to choose, that somehow we are either going to have national parks and wilderness and no jobs or we are going to have jobs and no national parks.

A couple of weeks ago I read in the paper an interesting poll they took up in Connecticut of Republican middle management people in a major corporation. By a vote of something like 80 percent to 5 percent, these people were agreed that we keep our parks and wilderness areas even if it costs a little bit in the loss of jobs. I do not think there is any showing here that jobs are going to be damaged any more than they have been damaged in any other wilderness bill. I think we ought to reject this amendment. I think it is not only vague, but I think it is simply bad policy to proceed as the amendment suggests. Surely we can have 2, 3, or 4 percent of our land in America in wilderness; that is about what we are talking about when we finally finish up the system. Surely we can see that our people get jobs and not desecrate the wilderness areas and the national parks. I strongly urge opposition to the amendment.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I should like to make the observation that in his letter to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Nichols) representing the Carpenters and Joiners Union was not speaking for middle management, he was speaking for blue collar workers in asking that the gentleman from Pennsylvania's amendment be accepted.

Mr. WALKER. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASHAYAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALKER. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I think we also ought to quote from a letter sent to Mr. Young when the union announced its opposition to this bill in which it says quite clearly: "We can be a nation of environmentalists only if our citizens have jobs and incomes to support wise conservation."

That is the point here. The blue-collar workers understand that conservation is important in the scheme of things, but only in the context that people have jobs and are working at the whole business of making this country great.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Well, there may in fact be a good number of middle management Republican employees in Connecticut, but there are quite a few blue-collar workers unemployed in California because there is not enough timber available to do the various things that are done with timber.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

I do not suppose there was any Member of this House who was more dedicated to the cause of organized labor and the working man than Phillip Burton. And this is an attack on his bill.

I will yield to no one in the degree of my support by and for organized labor. But I do not think we should make decisions on the basis of cartoons. I think we ought to look at a few facts.

Despite having worked out these agreements with most of the interest groups, Mr. Burton having worked them out, we are still hearing this kind of argument. And I might say that I understand why the gentleman from Pennsylvania is offering this. He tried it on the Oregon wilderness bill and he lost. But he got a couple of more votes than the next best amendment did, and so it has whetted his appetite.

But let me just make a few observations. First of all, despite the fact that some of the wilderness proposals in this bill contain significant volumes of standing timber, overall the bill would reduce the annual programed timber harvest in the State by 2.3 percent. This is because roughly 54 percent of the State's annual timber harvest comes from State and private lands which are completely unaffected, of course, by wilderness designation and because the vast majority of national forest land in the State are untouched by the bill.

In this regard I note that the bill puts some 56 million board feet of annual programed harvest in wilderness beyond the administration's RARE II proposals, but it releases 82 billion board feet from further wilderness study from the court imposed injunction on development.

Thus it will have an immediate positive impact on timber supply.

Now, second, I would like to point out that it is not the lack of timber supply that is causing unemployment in the timber industry, that is largely caused by the current lack of demand for timber products or, in the case of California, it is also caused by past overcutting on private lands.

Forest Service studies in both California and Oregon indicate that national forests cannot possibly make up the deficit in timber supply that is resulting from such overcutting.

Furthermore, such economic factors as mill automation and the closing of obsolete mills have resulted in additional job losses that are of real significance. These job losses have nothing to do with wilderness. For example, in Humboldt County alone, the number of jobs lost to automation in recent years has averaged 163 jobs each year. Far more than could be produced by logging all the remaining roadless areas in the county.

And fifth, I believe that many of the lands proposed for wilderness or wilderness study in this bill, have such marginal quality timber that they could not be harvested without net subsidies and loss to the Treasury after all costs, such as road construction, timber sale preparation, and reforestation are considered.

Many will likely be or should be classified as unsuitable for timber harvest under section 6K of the National Forest Management Act.

An April 1983 study prepared by a timber expert at the Congressional Research Service confirms this belief and suggests the taxpayer dollars might be better spent on timber harvest and reforestation on the lower elevation lands which lie outside the wilderness proposal.

And finally, I would also like to point out that the fishing industry, which through its major associations in northern California completely supports this bill, also has jobs at stake. And the reason they support this bill is because further logging on the steep slopes and unstable soil simply results in wiping out most of the remaining fishery resources.

So not only will few timber jobs be lost by this bill, if any, but we are also protecting the fishing industry jobs that will be preserved by keeping these lands in wilderness.

Mr. DENNY SMITH. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEIBERLING. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. DENNY SMITH. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

It just seems like we keep talking about more wilderness is not less jobs, in fact, it is more wilderness is more jobs and of course the gentleman is saying that because we are going to let the poor taxpayer or the poor Californian or Oregonian who relies on his income from the forest products area go from this trap that you have him in, you are going to have more.

There are not going to be more jobs created by creating more land locked up only for the hikers and for the nonmotorized uses. I think that the one thing about RARE I and RARE II which really needs to be kept in mind, the things that seem important to me, at least RARE I and RARE II had some kind of sanity involved.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling) has expired.

(At the request of Denny Smith and by unanimous consent, Mr. Seiberling was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. DENNY SMITH. If the gentleman will yield further, there was a criteria through which we put certain areas and certain lands in certain areas into the national wilderness system or recommendation therefor.

And when you get to a situation where just like in Oregon and Oregon wilderness bill we have gone far beyond that RARE II recommendation, I think it is too much.

Why are these other acres being created?

Mr. SEIBERLING. Well, I would just like to recover my time and say to the gentleman that I already pointed out that this bill releases from court injunction and other restrictions more programed timber harvest than it ties up above and beyond the Reagan proposal. So this is not only making more timber available, but it is also protecting existing jobs in the fishing and recreation industries. And between the two it is a projobs bill.

The problem with the timber industry jobs in northern California, as well as in the gentleman's own State, is not lack of supply, but lack of demand.

Mr. DENNY SMITH. I will grant the gentleman that. But the thing is we are not going to improve the situation by locking more and more up. We are not taking any land out of wilderness designation with this bill.

Mr. SEIBERLING. This bill releases land from being locked up by court order.

Mr. DENNY SMITH. It releases it from the shadow under which it is, but it does not take any area out of wilderness designation at present that is in wilderness designation, right?

Mr. SEIBERLING. It releases some further planning areas and it also releases tremendous acreage that is locked up by virtue of a court order, which will stay locked up unless we do something like this legislation.

Mr. DENNY SMITH. I do not view this as something that should be done in the haste with which it is being done, nor did I enjoy the Oregon situation.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Madam Chairman, although the chairman of the full committee has cast aspersion at the amendment, I think it very clearly says the Secretary of Agriculture may upon application by the State of California waive any provision to this act which can be shown to result in a significant increase of unemployment. And if we are really talking about that there will not be any effect upon jobs and the fact that the creation of wilderness creates jobs, I do not see why you object to the amendment.

You did this in the Oregon wilderness bill. I proposed the bill and it was ruled out of order, the same bill that our deceased colleague was supporting in the Redwoods bill and if we are not losing jobs in the action of creating wilderness, then what is the objection to it?

Now it is also ironic to me when I hear the chairman say they had a review or a poll taken in Connecticut and they are willing to pay a little more for more wilderness and parks, then let them create Connecticut into a park.

Let us take these east coast States and make them into parks, into wilderness areas. Let us take them out of the role that they have right now. Let us take and give them the opportunity of losing their jobs. And I also have heard this comment, Madam Chairman, "Well, it is only 1,500 people. It is only a few. What difference does it make? After all in the national interest we can kiss those people goodby, we do not really have to listen to their interests." And yet they have kids to feed, and shoes to put on their feet, college educations to work for, food to put on the table.

And if you think this is just one bill, let me go through.

We have passed the Oregon wilderness bill. Where are you, Oregon? We have passed the Oregon wilderness bill.

We are working on the California bill today. Virginia is going to be next, my friends. Then Vermont, oh yes, and Vermont is going to have just a small bit, a very tiny bit. Then Pennsylvania, yes, Pennsylvania. I do not see Ohio here. Florida, oh Florida is going to be on the wilderness area too.

Then Alabama, Mississippi, Michigan, Missouri, Colorado, yes, and Arizona, we have wilderness areas in Arizona.

California is what we are already talking about. And the State of Washington. Then we have Wyoming and Montana and I can go right on down the line.

My friends, bit by bit there is a group taking away our ability to provide the necessary resources to this Nation to make sure we have a sound economic base under the guise of the environment.

Now, I want to say, in all due respect to my deceased colleagues and those who are still present, this bill goes too far. Members on my side of the aisle and, yes, on your side of the aisle do support some wilderness areas. But a hodgepodge recommendation by special interest environmental groups, 57 different groups, is the wrong way to do business when it affects individual areas and districts represented by these people.

I am confident in my own mind that the next time we are going to have one of these other—first, by the way, this is the first time I have had somebody from that side of the aisle directly affected, and I want to complement the gentleman, too, on this one time speaking out against this. It has become a partisan issue, and it should not be. We are depriving this Nation of the resources that are needed.

I hear my good friend, the gentleman from Ohio, say "Well, there is still 95 percent of it available." But I challenge anyone to show me if there is a higher use in these areas. And watch this in California. You will either have a mineral or energy or a timber or a hydropower or a fiber site, not just wilderness.

This is not by accident. This is by premeditated planned effort to take lands away from man's management. If we wish to do correctly today, let us follow the substitute that is going to be offered. Let us adopt this amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Walker) so that jobs are protected.

I am glad to report that I believe the unions are beginning to wake up to something, that the environmental groups are not their friends.

They have been hand in hand for the last 10 years. Maybe they are going to start going back to the drawing board and say, "Listen, my people are out of work because our lands are being taken out of productivity."

I am happy to report that maybe these debates are finally getting through to that guy down there drinking Iron City beer and he is wondering why he is out of work.

The solution, to some people, is to create more Government jobs. But that is not what made this country great. This country was made great by the utilization of our timber and iron and coal and water and our food supply. That is what made it great. And where we have made mistakes, we can rectify that. We can improve upon those mistakes. We can make sure they do not happen again. But to take lands out of production, to take man out of management, is basically wrong.

I have listened to this discussion all day long. I said I would not debate the bill, and I have not, but this amendment is the right amendment if we are to protect those jobs of those people who need it. After we adopt that amendment, we should accept Mr. Shumway's substitute to the bill.

Mr. WEAVER. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words, and I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Madam Chairman, I simply want to say that there will be no jobs lost by this legislation. That is absurd. There is a very small amount of timber being taken out. Jobs will be gained, of course, by the enhancement of the fishing industry and many other related issues. Therefore, that part of the amendment is of no concern. The problem with this amendment is that it grants the legislative authority to the Secretary of Agriculture. It takes out of the Congress hands the very thing that Congress is supposed to do and grants it to a member of the executive branch. That is the most dangerous kind of legislation we could possibly have, and the amendment should be defeated.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I should just like to mention—and I do not want to elongate the debate—I believe the amendment says that, upon the application of the State of California, the Secretary of Agriculture may, at his discretion, remove the provisions.

It seems to me that the Legislature of the State of California is just as involved as the Secretary of Agriculture, and I should just like to point that out. I think it is a significant distinction that the gentleman failed to make.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Walker).

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Walker) there were—ayes 15, noes 10.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 121, noes 272, not voting 40. (Roll No. 49).

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Kindness for, with Mr. Addabbo against.
Mr. Broyhill for, with Mr. Annunzio against.
Mr. Franklin for, with Mrs. Collins against.
Mr. Schulze for, with Mr. Rodino against.

Mr. Lent, Mrs. Roukema, and Mr. Sensenbrenner changed their votes from "aye" to "no."

Mr. Kolter changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PASHAYAN

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Pashayan: On pages 20 and 21, strike section 3 in its entirety and renumber following sections accordingly.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, the area that my amendment deletes from consideration of the bill is an area that was not designated as wilderness in the Forest Service RARE II recommendation under President Carter.

The Sierra Club earlier this month proposed by a map to delete at least 9,000 of these acres in the Monache Meadows itself.

The entire area contains about 4 million board feet of timber and would support the mills to the east of the site and westward as well. There are some 35 miles of improved and designated motorcycle and four-wheel drives which accommodates about 13,000 to 15,000 visitor days annually.

Madam Chairman, you can see that this area is related to the creation of jobs, jobs that are very much needed. I do not know about some of the other areas, but I can speak most emphatically that jobs very much are at stake with this particular amendment and I invite the support of the committee on this amendment.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Madam Chairman, the Monache wilderness study area was part of the compromise engineered by Congressman Thomas and the Sierra Club. In exchange for the wilderness study of the 42,000 acre Monache area, which is the subject of this amendment, the 59,700 acre Rincon roadless area with an estimated 3 million board feet of annual potential yield is to be released by this bill from the California lawsuit.

Since RARE II the Forest Service has reviewed its timber estimates for the Rincon area and now estimates it contains over four times as much potential yield, 11.9 million board feet. This means that the compromise freed up four times as much timber as we thought, a fact that should reinforce its wisdom and reinforce our opposition to this amendment.

The compromise on the Monache study area also included language which can be found on page 21 of the bill to insure that existing levels of off-road vehicles would not be curtailed or limited during the study period. The area includes one of the largest meadow areas in the Southern Sierra and a lovely mix of ridges, forested land and meadows, which makes it particularly popular for family-oriented primitive recreation.

In addition, the sensitive South Fork of the Kern River, with its critical native golden trout habitat, flows through the middle of the study area. Logging or other development could seriously jeopardize this resource.

Even though the study area contains some commercial timber, the Forest Service gave the area a "development opportunity rating" of only 2 on a scale of zero to 15. A rating of 5 represents the break-even point at which a dollar spent by the Government will return a dollar to the Treasury. Any timber harvested in the study area would likely be at a net cost to the taxpayer.

So, Madam Chairman, for all those reasons I oppose this amendment and hope it will be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Pashayan).

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Seiberling) there were—ayes 45, noes 55.

So the amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. PASHAYAN

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Pashayan: On page 20, strike lines 14 through 25, and on page 21 strike lines 1 through 12 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

MONACHE PLANNING AREA

SEC. 3. (a) The following planning area shall be reviewed by the Secretary of Agriculture as to its suitability or nonsuitability for preservation as wilderness. The Secretary shall submit his report and findings to the President, and the President shall submit his recommendations to the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate no later than three years from the date of enactment of this Act:

(1) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Monache Planning Area," dated July 1980, and which shall be known as the Monache Planning Area.

(b) Subject to valid existing rights, the planning area designated by this section shall, until Congress determines otherwise, be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture so as to maintain its presently existing wilderness character; Provided, That within the Monache Planning Area the level of use existing during the year ending June 30, 1980, shall be permitted to continue.

(c) Until Congress determines otherwise, timber volumes within the planning area designated by this section shall be included in the base used to determine potential yield for the national forest concerned.

Mr. PASHAYAN (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, this is a followup amendment, since the first one was defeated. It is a technical amendment involving the Monache area, changing it from wilderness study to a planning area.

I believe the chairman of the committee will support this amendment.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASHAYAN. I should be glad to yield.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I have no objection to the amendment, Madam Chairman.

Mr. PASHAYAN. I appreciate the chairman's support.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Pashayan).

The amendment was agreed to.

Amendment Offered by Mr. Shumway

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Amendment offered by Mr. Shumway: On page 10, line 22, delete "sixty thousand" and insert "six hundred and forty".

Mr. SHUMWAY (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, I think we can dispose of this amendment in short order. This amendment deals with the area of the bill entitled "Mokelumne Wilderness."

There are some 60,000 acres proposed to be added to the north, east, and west sides of the existing Mokelumne Wilderness in three national forests.

Madam Chairman, if we go back to the 1964 Wilderness Act we see there that the standards that need to be met to justify wilderness areas are "untrammeled by man," and also that the "imprint of man's work is substantially unnoticeable."

In this case, Madam Chairman, in the case of these Mokelumne Wilderness additions, there would be a ban on the use by recreational vehicles of two of the most popular jeep trails in the region. One trail is located in the eastern additions to the wilderness located between Blue Lakes to the north and Highway 4 to the south and is the second most used road in the entire El Dorado National Forest.

This trail has a long history of ORV use and does not qualify as wilderness by the terms of the 1964 act which I just read.

The other trail impacted by these designations, Madam Chairman, is located between the old Plasse Trading Post site and Beebe Lake.

This trail has a long history of use going back to the wagoneers of the 1800's who used this trail to cross the Sierras. In fact, I am advised that the old wagonwheel ruts can still be found in the hard granite rocks.

People that have viewed that trail for many years find it especially difficult to now see it embraced within a wilderness area which has by its very definition areas untrammeled by man and where the imprint of man is unnoticeable.

For these reasons, Madam Chairman, it seems to me that the Mokelumne Wilderness addition should be stricken from the bill and I therefore urge this amendment.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I must oppose this amendment.

I would point out that the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway) himself accepted this provision of the bill in the last two Congresses, so I am not quite sure I understand why he is now trying to eliminate it.

Let me just say this: The 60,000 acres of proposed additions to the Mokelumne Wilderness contains 16 lakes that are named and numerous other smaller lakes and ponds. Primitive recreation use is among the highest of any RARE II roadless areas in California and can probably be attributed to the fact that it is near the Tahoe Basin and has easy accessibility and outstanding scenic values.

It has some 75 miles of hiking trails, including a stretch of the Pacific Crest Trail, and is one of the most popular cross-country skiing areas in the Sierra Nevada.

The expanded wilderness will incorporate a great variety of ecosystems running from the lands around 10,000-foot Raymond Peak to the lush lower elevation lands north of the Salt Springs Reservoir.

It also includes major segments of the watersheds which provide the principal water supply for over 1 million residents of the East Bay municipal utility district. For that reason alone it is extremely important to protect the quality of that water and we do so by adding it to the wilderness area.

For that reason I must oppose the amendment at this time.

Mr. LUJAN. Madam Chairman, I rise to strike the requisite number of words and rise in support of the amendment.

Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment because I think the gentleman is trying to correct what is inherent in the entire bill. It is in excess of what we started to do.

We all support a certain amount of wilderness area. As a matter of fact, this entire bill is about twice the amount that has been recommended by both the Carter administration and the Reagan administration. It is double the amount that anyone other than the sponsors of the bill thought ought to be in it.

I think the entire bill is in excess and this amendment simply reflects that excessive amount of land that was put into wilderness areas that should not have been.

This is just but one small piece of what should not be in here.

There is no question at all that both what the amendment seeks to correct and the entire bill is an excess that we will look back and wonder why we ever enacted such legislation. So, we might be able to correct it just a little bit by adopting the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I wonder if I could call upon my colleague from California (Mr. Shumway), for a colloquy? Mr. Shumway, the chairman has indicated that in terms of this 60,000 acres that this amendment addresses itself to that the gentleman agreed to including that acreage in the bill that was passed off the floor on two previous occasions. Is that accurate? I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SHUMWAY. I thank the gentleman for yielding. No; that is really not an accurate description. What happened in the last 2 years of course was far different from what is happening here today. We did have extensive consultations with Mr. Burton; there were particular compromises and concessions made in the bill. When Mr. Burton brought his bill to the floor it was on suspension. I think many of us addressed the bill at that point saying we were not entirely happy with it. One of the areas of unhappiness that I had was this very provision in the bill. But nevertheless because I had obtained other concessions from Mr. Burton I did not make opposition to the bill on suspension calendar and the bill passed but not with my total support.

Mr. LEWIS of California. The chairman has spent many, many hours on this measure. His staff has as well. I note there are 693,000 acres in this bill that are in your district. Were you consulted during this legislative session regarding your views from that staff as the committee worked?

Mr. SHUMWAY. If the gentleman will yield once again.

Mr. LEWIS of California. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SHUMWAY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I was not consulted prior to the introduction of this bill. We have talked here, at least we heard from the other side, references to reasonable compromise that this bill supposedly represents.

In my case the bill was introduced without any prior discussion, any prior consultation, without any prior effort for the kind of reasonable compromise to occur whatsoever.

Mr. LEWIS of California. I thank my colleague for that response. Madam Chairman, I raise the question simply because it occurred to me that the same sort of treatment might have been received by my colleague, Mr. Shumway, that my office received. Now admittedly I am a relatively new Member, I do not serve on the committee. I only have 110,000 acres in this bill. And I was not consulted either. But I can understand that since the bill involves a couple of million acres. But it seems to me we ought to be very careful when we are dealing with territory that is in individual Members' districts. There is not a person on this floor, Democrat or Republican, alike, who would like to see public policy made affecting their territory without the courtesy of personal consultation and negotiation before the bill is introduced and certainly before being brought to the floor. I thank the chairwoman for the time. I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. UDALL. I move to strike the requisite number of words and I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I would like to ask the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway), how much time he spent talking to Mr.

Burton about this bill before the Interior Committee took it up in markup session? I understand it was several hours. Is that correct.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Prior to the markup by the Interior Committee I spent perhaps two hours in Mr. Burton's office one evening discussing this bill; that is correct.

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. So there were extensive discussions before we brought the bill out of committee.

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SHUMWAY. I point out prior to that time the bill had been introduced and during that meeting there was no kind of concession whatsoever forthcoming. Consequently from my vantage point there was no reasonable compromise ever struck either in committee or directly with Mr. Burton.

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. We are dealing with a bill that was brought out of committee not the bill as introduced. An effort has been made here to give the impression there were no consultations at all between the gentleman and Mr. Burton when the fact is that before this bill came out of committee or before it even came out of subcommittee, there were a couple of hours of consultations. They did not apparently produce something to the liking of the gentleman from California, but the fact is there were consultations and I think that the effort to create the opposite impression was most unfortunate.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I would be happy to yield.

Mr. SHUMWAY. I thank the chairman. One of the problems I had with the bill is that less than 30 days transpired from the time it was introduced by Mr. Burton to the time that it was reported out of committee. Certainly you may say in response to that this bill was a rehash of what we did in prior years. No doubt much of it is.

Still insofar as my district is concerned, there are almost a quarter of a million new acres in this bill that were not in last year's bill, over which I had no opportunity for discussion with Mr. Burton prior to its introduction and essentially really had not the kind of time to have impact from my district that might be helpful to the committee while the committee was considering the bill.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I ask the gentleman further, is it not true that between the time the bill was introduced and the time it came out of committee that the committee dropped the 50,000 acre Royal Gorge Wilderness in his district?

Mr. SHUMWAY. That is no doubt true, but that particular revision was made by the committee not at any request of mine. It became very apparent in that case that there was a great deal of private ownership involved, it would be very unworkable for the Forest Service to acquire that particular area, so it was dropped, but not as a concession to me.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Whether it was a concession or not, the fact remains changes were made in the area and the fact that there were no consultations before the committee bill—before the bill was introduced, is not the main point; the fact is changes were made between the time it was introduced and the time it came out of committee.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LEWIS of California. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I would like to simply restate my own concern and the reason for asking the question. Mr. Shumway has explained his circumstance. I realize there are only 110,000 acres involved and I understand there are only 110,000 acres in my own district. I can clearly state to you that before the bill was introduced or after it was introduced, we were never consulted. And I have the impression that a large number of Members so affected had similar difficulty in communicating. I am sure the staff was busy. But I think the point we need to make here is in the future when we are considering changes of this nature that affect individual Members' districts, it seems to me only common courtesy, certainly each of us would want to be consulted about our district. It is a matter of procedure and probably common congressional courtesy. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. UDALL. Madam Chairman, I cannot quarrel with the gentleman. I think Members ought to be consulted on matters affecting their districts. We have tried to do that.

With a bill as big as this in the Nation's biggest State it is kind of difficult to satisfy everyone. But if we failed here we apologize.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Would the chairman yield to me again?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I would like to point out that two-thirds of the Members of the California delegation are supporting this bill. I would also like to point out that this Congressman, as chairman, relied on our distinguished and departed colleague Phillip Burton who knows more about the State of California than I ever will, to work with the Members of the delegation and try to work out the details of this bill.

This is the product of his labors. Now that he is gone, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall) and I will try to take over and carry on that work and the chairman has just assured the gentleman, and I personally assure the gentleman, that we will work with every single Member on that side, as well as on this side of the aisle. All I am trying to do is to set the record straight, because it started out as a colloquy implying there had been no consultations with the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway) and we have now brought out the fact that there were.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I want to clarify one thing. Did the gentleman say that California is the largest State in the Union?

Mr. UDALL. I was thinking numbers of people.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I appreciate that because it had me a little worried when I looked around and these Texans were really upset. Alaska is the largest State in the Union.

Mr. PASHAYAN. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I should like to engage in a colloquy with the chairman of the subcommittee and I should like to make a statement here.

When the Congress established the Golden Trout Wilderness in California, many of these conflicts existed between the various uses. They exist today.

I am most troubled by the Chief of the Forest Service's February 24, 1983, decision regarding the Golden Trout Wilderness interim management plan in that it does not recognize the historical significance of Painter's Cabin which is built of native rock and wood and is nearly 70 years old.

An existing special-use permit will terminate on December 31, 1985. What concerns me, Madam Chairman, and many of my constituents is that without the maintenance and absent positive direction from the Forest Service, this unique structure might be lost, even put to the torch by the Forest Service.

I worked with the gentleman in developing the 1980 amendments to the Historic Preservation Act and have called to the Forest Service's attention its role in preserving "historic properties which are owned or controlled by such agency."

Yet the Golden Trout Wilderness interim management plan recommends:

> Painter's Camp will continue on tenure and the improvements will be removed when the permit terminates.

I should appreciate the gentleman's comments and observations, not only as it relates to this particular cabin, but as it relates to the bill before us.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASHAYAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Well, I certainly agree with the comments the gentleman has made. I think this cabin should be protected. I think the Forest Service should protect it whether it is in wilderness or nonwilderness. And I feel that, by putting it in wilderness and making clear in the record that we intend it to be protected, we will actually enhance the prospect that that will be taken care of.

Mr. PASHAYAN. I should like to ask the chairman's position, would it be the chairman's position that the historical review of the agency's property be the first priority? This is, as I understand, in the National Historic Preservation Act.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Well, it is one of the priorities that is required of each land management agency and I agree that it is in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act.

Mr. PASHAYAN. A third and last question. Where we have these kinds of conflicts, would it not be more prudent for Congress to recognize them in the legislation itself? We have tried to do this in the bill before us today.

Mr. SEIBERLING. I agree with the gentleman and I think with the record we have just made that that will also help that.

Mr. WEAVER. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASHAYAN. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. WEAVER. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I want to tell the gentleman that he has raised a very important point here. I have time and time again seen the Forest Service act childishly, petulantly, in situations like this, destroying cabins that have a real useful existence in such areas, or old and ancient privies. These are childish and petulant acts and I can assure the gentleman that as chairman of the Forest Management Committee I will do everything I can to prevent them from tearing them out.

Mr. PASHAYAN. I must confess to my friend from Oregon that this particular gentleman is more concerned in cabins than privies. However, I should like to say that I appreciate the gentleman's supporting remarks.

And also to add that not only is this particular cabin rustic, but it is used as a campsite each year for disadvantaged children from the Oakland Bay area. And it is put to good social use in that regard.

I appreciate the support of the gentleman from Oregon and the support of the subcommittee chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway).

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SHUMWAY

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Shumway: Strike sections 1 through 12 and insert the following:

That this Act may be cited as the "California Wilderness Act of 1983".

DESIGNATION OF WILDERNESS

SEC. 2. (a) In furtherance of the purposes of the Wilderness Act, the following lands, as generally depicted on maps, appropriately referenced, dated July 1980 (except as otherwise dated) are hereby designated as wilderness, and therefore, as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System—

(1) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one thousand eight hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Caribou Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Caribou Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(2) certain lands in the Stanislaus and Toiyabe National Forests, California, which comprise approximately one hundred eighty-two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Carson-Iceberg Wilderness—Proposed, dated March 1983", and which shall be known as the Carson-Iceberg Wilderness: *Provided, however,* That the designation of the Carson-Iceberg Wilderness shall not preclude continued motorized access to those previously existing facilities which are directly related to permitted livestock grazing activities in the Wolf Creek Drainage on the Toiyabe National Forest in the same manner and degrees in which such access was occurring as of the date of enactment of this Act;

(3) certain lands in the Shasta Trinity National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand three hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Castle Crags Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Castle Crags Wilderness;

(4) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately fifteen thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Cinder Buttes Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Cinder Buttes Wilderness;

(5) certain lands in the Angeles National Forest, California, which comprise approximately four thousand four hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Cucamonga Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Cucamonga Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(6) certain lands in the Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand six hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Deep Wells Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Deep Wells Wilderness;

(7) certain lands in the Los Padres National Forest, which comprise approximately sixty-seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Dick Smith Wilderness—Proposed", dated October, 1979, and which shall be known as Dick Smith Wilderness: *Provided*, That the Act of March 21, 1968 (82 Stat. 51), which established the San Rafael Wilderness

is hereby amended to transfer four hundred and thirty acres of the San Rafael Wilderness to the Dick Smith Wilderness and establish a line one hundred feet north of the centerline of the Buckhorn Fire Road as the southeasterly boundary of the San Rafael Wilderness, as depicted on a map entitled "Dick Smith Wilderness—Proposed", and wherever said Buckhorn Fire Road passes between the San Rafael and Dick Smith Wildernesses and elsewhere at the discretion of the Forest Service, it shall be closed to all motorized vehicles except those used by the Forest Service for administrative purposes;

(8) certain lands in the Stanislaus National Forest, California, which comprise approximately six thousand one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Emigrant Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Emigrant Wilderness as designated by Public Law 93–632;

(9) certain lands in the Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-six thousand four hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Excelsior Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Excelsior Wilderness;

(10) certain lands in the Angeles National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirty-two thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Fish Canyon Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Fish Canyon Wilderness;

(11) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately ten thousand six hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Granite Peak Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Granite Peak Wilderness;

(12) certain lands in Toiyabe National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-nine thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Hoover Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Hoover Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(13) certain lands in and adjacent to the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-one thousand six hundred acres as shown on a map entitled "Ishi Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Ishi Wilderness;

(14) certain lands in the Inyo and Sierra National Forests, California, which comprise approximately one hundred twenty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "John Muir Wilderness Additions, Inyo National Forest—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the John Muir Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(15) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately three thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Lassen Volcanic Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and shall be deemed to be a part of the Lassen Volcanic Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and shall be deemed to be a part of the Lassen Volcanic Wilderness as designated by Public Law 92–510;

(16) certain lands in the Klamath National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand six hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Marble Mountain Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Marble Mountain Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(17) certain lands in the Sierra and Inyo National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-eight thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Minarets Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Minarets Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(18) certain lands in the Eldorado National Forests, California, which comprise approximately six hundred and forty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Mokelumne Wilderness Additions—Proposed", dated November 1980, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Mokelumne Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(19) certain lands in the Shasta Trinity National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-six thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Mt. Shasta Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Mt. Shasta Wilderness;

(20) certain lands in the Cleveland National Forest, California, which comprise approximately thirteen thousand one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Pine Creek Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Pine Creek Wilderness;

(21) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately ten thousand two hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Pyramid Peak Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Pyramid Peak Wilderness;

(22) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-one thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Gorgonio Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the San Gorgonio Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(23) certain lands in the San Bernardino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately ten thousand nine hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Jacinto Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the San Jacinto Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577: *Provided, however,* That the Secretary of Agriculture may pursuant to an application filed prior to January 1, 1983, grant a right-of-way for, and authorize construction of, a transmission line or lines within the area depicted as "potential powerline corridor" on the map entitled "San Jacinto Wilderness Additions—Proposed"; *Provided further,* That if a power transmission line is constructed within such corridor, the corridor shall cease to be a part of the San Jacinto Wilderness and the Secretary of Agriculture shall publish notice thereof in the Federal Register;

(24) certain lands in the Los Padres National Forest, California, which comprise approximately two thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "San Rafael Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby

incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the San Rafael Wilderness as designated by Public Law 90–271;

(25) certain lands in the Angeles and San Bernardino National Forests, California, which comprise approximately thirty thousand one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Sheep Mountain Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Sheep Mountain Wilderness;

(26) certain lands in the Six Rivers, Klamath, and Siskiyou National Forests, California, which comprise approximately one hundred thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Siskiyou Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Siskiyou Wilderness;

(27) certain lands in the Mendocino National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty-five thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Snow Mountain Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as Snow Mountain Wilderness;

(28) certain lands in the Modoc National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one thousand nine hundred and forty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "South Warner Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the South Warner Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(29) certain lands in the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately seven thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Thousand Lakes Wilderness Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Thousand Lakes Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(30) certain lands in and adjacent to the Lassen National Forest, California, which comprise approximately four thousand four hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Timbered Crater Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Timbered Crater Wilderness;

(31) certain lands in and adjacent to the Klamath, Shasta Trinity and Six Rivers National Forests, California, which comprise approximately two hundred and ninety-five thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Trinity Alps Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Trinity Alps Wilderness;

(32) certain lands in the Los Padres National Forest, California, which comprise approximately two thousand seven hundred and fifty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Ventana Wilderness Addition—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Ventana Wilderness as designated by Public Laws 91–58 and 95–237; and

(33) certain lands in and adjacent to the Six Rivers National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Yolla-Bolly Middle Eel Additions—Proposed", and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed to be a part of the Yolla-Bolly Middle Eel Wilderness as designated by Public Law 88–577;

(34) certain lands in and adjacent to the Los Padres National Forest, California, which comprise approximately twenty thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Machesna Mountain Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Machesna Mountain Wilderness;

(35) certain lands in and adjacent to the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately forty-eight thousand acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Scodies Wilderness—Proposed", and which shall be known as the Scodies Wilderness;

(36) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, which comprise approximately ten thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Jennie Lakes Wilderness—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which shall be known as the Jennie Lakes Wilderness.

(b) The previous classifications of the High Sierra Primitive Area, Emigrant Basin Primitive Area, and the Salmon-Trinity Alps Primitive Area are hereby abolished.

Sec. 3. (a) Subject to valid existing rights, each wilderness area designated by this Act shall be administered by the Secretary concerned in accordance with the provisions of the Wilderness Act: *Provided,* That any reference in such provisions to the effective date of the Wilderness Act shall be deemed to be a reference to the effective date of this Act.

(b) Within the National Forest wilderness areas designated by this Act—

(1) as provided in subsection 4(d)(4)(2) of the Wilderness Act, the grazing of livestock, where established prior to the date of enactment of this Act, shall be permitted to continue subject to such reasonable regulations, policies and practices as the Secretary deems necessary, as long as such regulations, policies and practices fully conform with and implement the intent of Congress regarding grazing in such areas as such intent is expressed in the Wilderness Act and this Act;

(2) as provided in subsection 4(d)(1) of the Wilderness Act, the Secretary concerned may take such measures as are necessary in the control of fire, insects, and diseases, subject to such conditions as he deems desirable; and

(3) as provided in section 4(b) of the Wilderness Act, the Secretary concerned shall administer such areas so as to preserve their wilderness character and to devote them to the public purposes of recreational, scenic, scientific, educational, conservation, and historical use.

(c) Within sixty days of the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture shall enter into negotiations to acquire by exchange or otherwise (on a willing-buyer-seller basis and at the landowner's opinion) all or part of any privately owned lands within the Trinity Alps, Castle Crags, and Mount Shasta Wilderness areas as designated by this Act. Such acquisition shall to the maximum extent practicable, be completed within three years after the date of enactment of this Act. Market and exchange values shall be determined without reference to any restrictions on access or use which arise out of designation as a wilderness area.

FILING OF MAPS AND DESCRIPTIONS

Sec. 4. As soon as practicable after enactment of this Act, a map and a legal description on each wilderness area shall be filed with the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, and each such map and description shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided*, That correction of clerical and typographical errors in each such legal description and map may be made. Each such map and legal description shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the Chief of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture.

ADDITIONS TO NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM

SEC. 5. (a) The following lands are hereby added to the national park system:

(1) certain lands in the Sequoia National Forest, California, which comprise approximately one thousand five hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Jennie Lakes Additions, Kings Canyon National Park—Proposed", dated March 1983, and which are hereby incorporated in, and which shall be deemed a part of Kings Canyon National Park;

(b) Upon enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture shall transfer the lands described in subsection (a) of this section, without consideration, to the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior for administration as part of the national park system.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior shall study the lands added to the national park system by subsection (a) of this section for possible designation as national park wilderness, and shall report to the Congress his recommendations as to the suitability or nonsuitability of the designation of such lands as wilderness by not later than three years after the effective date of this Act.

(d) The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized and directed to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior for administration as a part of Yosemite National Park, two hundred and fifty-three acres of the Stanislaus National Forest at Crocker Ridge, identified as all that land lying easterly of a line beginning at the existing park boundary and running three hundred feet west of and parallel to the center line of the park road designated as State Highway 120, also known as the New Big Oak Flat Road, within section 34, township 1 south, range 19 east, and within sections 4, 9, and 10, township 2 south, range 19 east, Mount Diablo base and meridian.

(e) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture one hundred and sixty acres within the boundary of the Sierra National Forest identified as the northwest quarter of section 16, township 5 south, range 22 east, Mount Diablo base meridian, subject to the right of the Secretary of the Interior to the use of the water thereon for park purposes, including the right of access to facilities necessary for the transportation of water to the park.

NATIONAL PARK WILDERNESS

SEC. 6. The following lands are hereby designated as wilderness in accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act (78 Stat. 890; 16 U.S.C. 1132(c)) and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act:

(1) Yosemite National Park Wilderness, comprising approximately six hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred acres, and potential wilderness additions comprising approximately three thousand five hundred and fifty acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan, Yosemite

National Park, California" numbered 104–20, 003–3 dated July 1980, and shall be known as the Yosemite Wilderness;

(2) Sequoia and King Canyon National Parks Wilderness, comprising approximately seven hundred and thirty-six thousand nine hundred and eighty acres; and potential wilderness additions comprising approximately one hundred acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Wilderness Plan—Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Parks—California", numbered 102–20, 003–E and dated July 1980, and shall be known as the Sequoia-Kings Canyon Wilderness.

MAP AND DESCRIPTION

Sec. 7. A map and description of the boundaries of the areas designated in section 7 of this Act shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the Director of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior and in the Office of the Superintendent of each area designated in section 7. As soon as practicable after this Act takes effect, maps of the wilderness areas and descriptions of their boundaries shall be filed with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate, and such maps and description shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act: *Provided,* That correction of clerical and typographical errors in such maps and descriptions may be made.

CESSATION OF CERTAIN USES

Sec. 8. Any lands (in section 7 of this Act) which represent potential wilderness additions upon publication in the Federal Register of a notice by the Secretary of the Interior that all uses thereon prohibited by the Wilderness Act have ceased, shall thereby be designated wilderness. Lands designated as potential wilderness additions shall be managed by the Secretary insofar as practicable as wilderness until such time as said lands are designated as wilderness.

ADMINISTRATION

Sec. 9. The areas designated by section 7 of this Act as wilderness shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act governing areas designated by that Act as wilderness, except that any reference in such provisions to the effective date of the Wilderness Act shall be deemed to be a reference to the effective date of this Act, and where appropriate, any reference to the Secretary of Agriculture shall be deemed to be a reference to the Secretary of the Interior.

Notwithstanding any existing or future administrative designation or recommendation, mineral prospecting, exploration, development, or mining of cobalt and associated minerals undertaken under the United States mining laws within the North Fork Smith roadless area (RARE II 5–707, Six Rivers National Forest, California) shall be subject to only such Federal laws and regulations as are generally * * *.

SEVERABILITY

Sec. 10. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application thereof shall not be affected thereby.

Mr. SHUMWAY (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, there has been a great deal said here this afternoon about who supports this bill and who does not, who was consulted, and who was not.

Let me just point out in that regard a couple of numbers that I think are very important for all of us to reflect upon.

The bill as it was brought to the House today had 37 cosponsors and of those 37 cosponsors, only 1 of them had any proposed wilderness land in his district.

California now has 45 congressional districts. This bill affects 15 of those 45 congressional districts, one-third of the total. And from those 15 congressional districts only one Member of Congress chose to be a cosponsor of this bill.

Likewise, the bill does not enjoy full support from the State of California. It may have support from other areas and from Members who live in cities and not impacted by it, but let me just give my colleagues a few names of groups who have registered opposition to it in the short time that they have had to consider it since it was introduced:

The California Senate Select Committee on Forest Land Issues.
The California Assembly Rural Caucus.
The California Chamber of Commerce.
The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.
Lumber Production and Industrial Workers.
The California Farm Bureau Federation.
The State grange.
The Association of Four-Wheel Drive Clubs.
The California Off-the-Road Vehicle Association.
The California Cattlemen's Association.
The California Mining Association.

The California Forest Protective Association.

The Western Oil and Gas Association.

The Western Timber Association.

The Regional Council of Rural Counties, which contains representatives of 9 of the 12 counties that I represent.

The county boards of supervisors in Tulare, Del Norte, Modoc, and Plumas Counties.

The Audubon Society Chapter in Fresno.

The Del Norte Fishermen's Association.

It seems to me that with that kind of opposition which has been generated in a short period of time, there is good reason to see that this bill is not the right direction to go.

And it is for that reason that I have offered this substitute. Because it goes beyond in a very small way the Forest Service position, I am calling it the Republican substitute. It is an answer that I believe brings some degree of balance and sensibility to this entire issue.

The Forest Service position was recommending that 1.2 million acres be included in wilderness designation.

The Republican substitute, which I am now offering, increases that total by about 78,000 acres and it does this by bringing in the areas which have been referred to here in the debate, the Machesna Mountain, Scodies, and Jennie Lakes Wilderness, from either nonconsideration or further planning into wilderness designation.

Let me just point out briefly what this does.

The Burton bill before us today provides for 58 wilderness areas in California. The substitute that I am urging Congress to adopt calls for 36 such areas.

The Burton bill takes about 2.38 million acres in wilderness. My substitute says 1.3 million, just half of the total.

The Burton bill provides for planning and study areas in the future, 70,000 acres; my proposal, zero. That clears up that particular issue.

As far as long-range timber yield is concerned, the Burton bill would have us lose about 176 million board feet; my substitute would have us lose only 60 million board feet.

And finally in terms of job impact—we have had a great deal of discussion about that here this afternoon.

The Burton bill is going to call for job loss, direct jobs, of some 1,200 positions; my substitute would affect only 400 such positions.

Madam Chairman, this particular recommendation is the result of lengthy consideration and review as it was mandated by Congress. It was the response of the Forest Service to that mandate. It has been essentially endorsed by the Carter administration and now by the Reagan administration. And I offer it in response to those who might claim on this side of the aisle that there is no desire on the part of Republican Members for any wilderness at all.

Indeed, that is not true. And I hope to evidence that fact by offering the substitute. It strikes a reasonable balance. It is the way that many of us in California would like to go. And for that reason, I seriously urge it upon the Members of the House.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment, I think this is probably the last amendment.

Madam Chairman, this is essentially the administration proposal. Instead of 1.2 million acres, it is 1.278, which, compared to the totals that this bill is dealing with, is practically no change at all. It would emasculate the bill by cutting the proposed wilderness acreage in half, and in so doing it would throw out most of the compromises reached in the Burton bill and delete protection for all or portions of such critical areas as the Trinity Alps, the Siskiyous, Granite Chief, which the committee, incidentally, voted to retain in this bill by a vote of 41 to 0, the Russian Peak area, one of the most important biological areas in the bill, the San Joaquin and San Mateo Canyons, and numerous other areas.

Of the various wilderness proposals before the committee since 1979, which range from a high of 5.1 million acres to a low of 1.2 million acres, this proposal represents the low end of the spectrum. It totally ignores the State of California's lawsuit in which the State won an injunction forcing wilderness reconsideration of over 1 million acres of land.

The Reagan administration's idea of compromise on the injunction areas was zero for wilderness, 100 percent for development. That is no compromise at all. This proposal totally ignores the input of Trinity County and the other consensus wilderness proposals negotiated between Mr. Burton, the environmentalists, the industry, and other Members of Congress.

This proposal would have especially harsh impacts on the commercial fishing industry. Of the fishing industry's top priorities, including Blue Creek, Eight-Mile Creek, Dillon Creek, and Wooley Creek, Big Butte-Shinbone, Mill Creek, and additions to the Trinity Alps, not a single area is included in the proposal.

Part of the compromise contained in the Burton bill was to release certain further planning wilderness study lands from the ongoing wilderness study process. I will not bother to catalog all of them. But these compromises are discarded by this amendment. Wilderness studies will again delay the projects or timber harvests. This proposal rejects these compromises. The proposal does not resolve the California RARE II issue. It only invites further litigation, and immerses California's national forests in the RARE III study process which the administration recently announced.

We do not need more study, Madam Chairman. We need the compromise resolution which the Burton bill represents, and for that reason I urge all of the Members to vote against this substitute for the Burton bill.

Mr. CHAPPIE. Madam Chairman, I would like to voice my support for the substitute legislation offered by my colleague, Mr. Shumway.

For over 18 years now, Congress has struggled with the responsibility of establishing an equitable and permanent solution to the question of national forest management. It is high time the polarized groups involved in the debate do all in their power to bring an end to this costly bureaucratic headache to guarantee that RARE II does not become an even more unmanageable political monster in the form of RARE III during the next Congress.

H.R. 1437, which would designate wilderness areas in the State of California roughly equivalent to the size of the State of Maryland, will only serve to further impact the depressed economic conditions of my district. These people in my area simply cannot afford a bill which will drastically reduce logging and sawmilling jobs in timber towns already reeling from unemployment rates as high as 37 percent. Further, I would like to know how my colleagues and I in northern California are supposed to justify the adoption of legislation which will ultimately reduce meaningful jobs while Congress is frantically trying to pass measures to stimulate employment.

It is also important to note that it is not just loggers and related industries which will suffer from the ramifications of this legislation. In addition to providing needed Federal revenues, Federal timber receipts provide sizable funds to local governments and schools. Regardless of our differing approaches to the protection of the environment, I think it is safe to say that everyone here firmly believes in strong local governments and quality public education. These same institutions, battered by the effects of proposition 13 and a depleted State treasury, will be hard pressed to survive the effects of a reduction of up to $20 million in timber receipts.

In conclusion, I encourage my colleagues to support the substitute legislation which follows the recommendations of the U.S. Forest Service. This legislation will serve the people of California by insuring important jobs, aiding local governments and schools, and providing an expanded State wilderness system for future generations.

Mr. LUJAN. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CHAPPIE. I yield to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. LUJAN. I think the gentleman has made an excellent statement in suggesting that we follow the Forest Service recommendations. Because we have not followed the Forest Service recommendations, we have taken their recommendations and enlarged on them to such an extent that I would be willing to tell the gentleman at this point that, because of that, this bill will never become law.

If we follow the gentleman's suggestion that we keep in tune with the recommendation of the Forest Service, we would probably have a wilderness bill from California. But as it is now, I do not think it will ever see the light of day because of the excesses in it.

Mr. CHAPPIE. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway).

The question was taken; and the chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. SHUMWAY. Madam Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 136, noes 257, not voting 40. (Roll No. 50).

Mr. AuCoin and Mr. Garcia changed their votes from "aye" to "no."

Mr. Davis changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LEWIS OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. LEWIS of California. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Lewis of California: On page 17, strike line 3 through 8 and renumber the following subparagraphs accordingly.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Madam Chairman, the amendment I have before you, which I do not intend to offer or take to a vote, is an amendment that would strike some 77,000 acres from my district, which combined with the amendment of the gentleman from California (Mr. Shumway), the Monache amendment, took care of over 100,000 acres of territory that is strictly not wilderness territory, which was arbitrarily put into this bill.

Madam Chairman, I have presented the amendment temporarily simply to have an opportunity to place in the Record a resolution from the board of supervisors of Inyo County.

Madam Chairman, if we can move right along, we can get to the Traxler celebration. I do not intend to speak extensively on this amendment, but I would like to take the opportunity to bring to the attention of the chairman, the subcommittee chairman, the resolution from the board of supervisors of Inyo County unanimously opposing that proposition that would put this territory in the bill.

The chairman has indicated a willingness to cooperate with us in seeking out amendments to accommodate the Members from California who were working closely with our departed colleague, Congressman Phillip Burton.

I anticipate that we will go forward with that work on the Senate side.

RESOLUTION 83–21

Whereas, the national forests are of great importance and benefit to all the people of the United States; and

Whereas, these benefits take many forms including timber production, recreation, water shed and mineral deposits; and

Whereas, the counties of the United States share in the receipts from national forest lands for the improvement of roads and support of schools; and

Whereas, local communities are economically dependent on production of natural resources from national forests; and

Whereas, certain lands are being considered to be removed from production by the RARE II proposals; and

Whereas, as a result of the lawsuit initiated by the State of California; Burton HR 1437 has been introduced into the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate; and

Whereas, the planning process used by Forest Service planning established by Congress is in the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (RPA) and the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (NFMA); and

Whereas, the Forest Service shall be formulating a planning program based upon three levels of planning: National, Regional and Forest; and

Whereas, these plans will be based upon resulting selected issues and concerns and inventory of forest resources:

Now, therefore be it resolved by the Inyo County Board of Supervisors as follows:

1. That we urgently request the Honorable Members of the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate not to adopt nor in any way authorize the implementation in total, or in any part, the U.S. Forest Service RARE II recommendations for wilderness areas nor any of the introduced House or Senate Bills, including the Burton Bill HR 1437, unless and until the adoption of National, Regional and Forest Plans.

2. That we will coordinate with the U.S. Forest Service in the formulation process of the National, Regional and Forest Plans, where natural resources including timber, minerals, geothermal, livestock range, recreational values, wilderness, scenic values, critical and endangered animal and plant species and other environmental and ecological resources and values will be inventoried.

3. That we are of the opinion that an Environmental Impact Statement of RARE II is not adequate under the provisions of N.E.P.A. unless it is based upon an inventory of ecological, environmental and natural resources.

4. That all lands designated "Further Planning" on the January 1979 Final Environmental Statement of RARE II State of California be designated as multiple use.

5. We support the designation of lands designated "Non-Wilderness" on the January 1979 Final Environmental Statement for RARE II State of California.

6. We urge Congress to give the industries affected by the RARE II process some relief until the matter is resolved.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to Congressman Lewis, Senator Pete Wilson, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Public Lands and National Parks, Chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEWIS of California. I would be happy to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Well, I certainly will work with the gentleman. I have not had a chance to study the effect of this amendment. I am familiar with the territory in question, having hiked it myself, and I will sit down and we will see what we can do when we get to the Senate side and in conference.

Mr. LEWIS of California. I thank the chairman.

Madam Chairman, I withdraw the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

Amendment Offered by Mr. Seiberling

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, I offer a technical amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Seiberling: On page 3, line 16, add "dated April 1983," after the comma.

On page 10, line 22, change "sixty thousand' to "fifty-nine thousand five hundred" and on line 24, change "November 1980" to "April 1983".

Mr. SEIBERLING. Madam Chairman, this amendment makes a minor boundary adjustment in the boundary of the proposed Carson-Iceberg Wilderness and deletes approximately 500 acres from the proposed additions to the Mokelumne Wilderness in order to allow for possible upgrading and a slight rerouting of Highway 4 in the event a higher standard road is necessary at some time in the future to access the proposed Pacific Valley ski site.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEIBERLING. Yes, I yield to the gentleman from Alaska.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Madam Chairman, this side has no objection to the amendment and will accept the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling).

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments? If not, the question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as needed.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the Chair, Mrs. Kennelly, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1437) entitled the "California Wilderness Act of 1983," pursuant to House Resolution 154, she reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute adopted by the Committee of the Whole? If not, the question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. LUJAN

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. LUJAN. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

> Mr. Lujan moves to recommit the bill, H.R. 1437, to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 297, nays 96, not voting 40. (Roll No. 51).

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Golden Gate National Recreation Area

Proceedings in the House

TUESDAY, *April 26, 1983.*

H.R. 2600, DEDICATING THE GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA TO PHILLIP BURTON

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 2600) to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phillip Burton, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE BILL 2600

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, California, is hereby dedicated to Congressman Phillip Burton in recognition of his leadership in establishing the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, his outstanding contributions to the National Park System, the Wilderness Preservation System, and to the protection and preservation of our great natural and cultural resources for the benefit of the people of the United States for all time.

SEC. 2. In order to carry out the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to provide such identification by signs, including, but not limited to changes in existing signs, materials, maps, markers, interpretive programs or other means as will adequately inform the public of the contributions of Phillip Burton.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized and directed to cause to be erected and maintained, within the boundaries of the Fort Mason unit the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, an appropriate memorial to Phillip Burton. Such memorial shall include but not be limited to an appropriate permanent marker describing the contributions of Phillip Burton to the Nation.

SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a second demanded?

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, a second will be considered as offered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall) will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. Young) will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today we are considering H.R. 2600, a bill which will dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California to our late good friend and colleague, Phillip Burton.

During Phil's chairmanship of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs, the Congress enacted legislation that: established 30 new national park units, expanded the boundaries of 66 existing national park units and 2 national forest system units, designated 8 new wild and scenic rivers and authorized studies of 19 rivers for possible future designation by the Congress, established 11 new national trails and authorized studies of 7 trail routes and designated 8 national parks and 2 forest service wilderness areas totaling 2,930,000 acres.

But above all Phil was most proud of the creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in his city, San Francisco, Phil loved the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. He introduced and shepherded the legislation which was successful in establishing Golden Gate on October 27, 1972, and personally worked out the refinements over the years that improved and enhanced this magnificent park.

On April 19, George Miller of California, who served on this committee with Phil, introduced H.R. 2600, and more than 170 of our colleagues have joined us in supporting this legislation which will dedicate the Golden Gate Recreation Area to Phillip Burton and cause a permanent memorial to Phil to be erected within the Fort Mason unit.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this legislation.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the bill now before us, H.R. 2600, which dedicates the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in the State of California to our late friend and colleague, Congressman Phillip Burton.

Phil and I served together on the Interior Committee of the House for all the years that I have been in Congress. While in many instances our views took us to the opposite sides of issues, I can say without hesitation that Phil was an exceptionally able and effective legislator. His monumental legacy of accomplishments in the form of conservation law are a tribute to that effectiveness.

For 4 years, Phil served as the chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs of the House Interior Committee. It was during that period that he successfully guided through to enactment so much legislation, particularly related to the expansion and protection of our National Park System.

One of Phil's own very favorite accomplishments, however, was the creation of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in and around his home area of San Francisco. Phil always exhibited a particular pride in this area, and continually watched over its welfare.

It is most fitting that the Congress recognize the very significant contributions of our late colleague through the enactment of the legislation now under consideration. This bill provides that the Golden Gate National Recreation Area be dedicated to Congressman Phil Burton, and that other appropriate recognition of his conservation legacy be accorded through various commemorative actions to be taken within the recreation area.

Mr. Speaker, the enactment of this legislation is an appropriate action for this body to take, and I urge the adoption of this bill by the House.

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. LUJAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join the gentleman in his remarks. I think it is most proper and fitting that we should dedicate this recreation area to Phil. He is a person that will not easily be forgotten as a Member of this Congress and certainly as a member of this committee; so I join with my colleagues in urging the adoption of this legislation.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling).

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, the famous Roman statesman, Cato, is reported at one time to have been showing some visitors the glories of ancient Rome. One of them asked him, "where is the monument to Cato?"

And his response was, "Look around you."

This legislation is recognition, which really is not needed in the sense of having to create a memorial to Phillip Burton, because we can truthfully say, no matter what part of the country we are in, that if we need a memorial to Phillip Burton, we need only to look around. That is especially true of our National Park System, which was enlarged and improved during his period as chairman of the National Parks Subcommittee of the House of Interior and Insular Affairs Committee; but it is true of a lot of other things, too.

There is much social legislation which is also a memorial to our late beloved colleague. There is a group of people who are not even American citizens who are small in number and who owe much of their well-being at present to the intercession of Phillip Burton. I refer to the people of the Trust Territories of Micronesia. Yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Elon, who is the representative in Washington of the Federated States of Micronesia, expressing his sorrow at the untimely death of our colleague and enclosing a news release issued by the President of the Federated States of Micronesia, Mr. Tosiwo Nakayama.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this news release be included in the Record at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

PONAPE, FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA, April 13, 1983.—Tosiwo Nakayama, President of the Federated States of Micronesia, today issued the following statement marking the recent death of Representative Phillip

Burton, the former chairman of the National Parks and Insular Affairs Subcommittee of the House Interior Committee.

"The people of the Federated States of Micronesia have lost a loyal friend and supporter with the untimely death of Congressman Phillip Burton. Phillip Burton labored in our behalf for many years, at times almost single-handedly with a goal of affording our citizens maximum access to the vast array of programs of the U.S. Government in essential fields such as health and education. He always had uppermost in his mind the application of U.S. Government resources in a way that would benefit the people directly, improving their basic living conditions.

"Congressman Burton also played a major role in the formation of the new Micronesian governments. His constructive influence was ever present in the negotiations with the United States on our Compact of Free Association. We shall always be indebted to him for his wise counsel and encouragement in the development of that document. We are especially saddened that his death has come only a matter of weeks before the FSM's plebiscite on the Compact, and that we have lost his leadership within the U.S. Congress at a time when that body will soon be called upon to react to the decision on future political status made by the people of the Federated States of Micronesia. It is hoped that Phil Burton's passing will serve to remind all of us of the unfinished nature of the tasks to which he dedicated his life and inspire a firm resolve to keep faith with his principles as the United States and Micronesian people complete the formation of new relationships."

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I will not take much further time, except to say that in my memory, I have never seen a bill before in which the list of cosponsors was as large as the bill itself, but that is the case with the bill before us. That is some small measure of the esteem which his colleagues feel for our departed friend.

Phillip Burton opposed the naming of National Park units for individuals, and I agree with him. However, this bill does not rename the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. It simply extends to him the kind of appropriate recognition which he supported for other people, and that is the dedication of a unit of the park system to the person who, in a prominent way, was connected with its creation. I think this is a most fitting and appropriate piece of legislation and I urge its adoption.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Mrs. Boxer).

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Speaker, few would argue that our late colleague, Phillip Burton, has been the most prolific producer of land for national parks, trails, and wilderness areas in recent memory, and perhaps in the history of this body. His Omnibus Parks Act of 1978 alone tripled the size of the National Trails System, nearly doubled the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and more than doubled the wilderness acreage of the National Parks System.

This body only 2 weeks ago approved his most recent mammoth undertaking, the addition of some 2.3 million acres of national forest land in California to the National Wilderness Preservation System. Other preservation and protection accomplishments in the State of California include areas in the Redwood National Park, Channel Islands, Santa Monica Mountains, Mineral King, protection of Lake Tahoe, and closer to his home, protection of the Farallon Islands and extension of the Point Reyes National Seashore.

Mr. Speaker, all of his accomplishments, which stretch across the length and breadth of this great Nation, would make a much longer list; but in Phil's district, the single park accomplishment for which he will best be remembered is the creation in 1972 of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. I have had the great honor for these past few short months of sharing representation of San Francisco and the GGNRA with Phillip. I know he loved them both dearly. GGNRA is no ordinary park. It stretches from the streets, forts, and harbors of urban San Francisco to the undeveloped windswept headlands of Marin County. It is the most visited unit of our National Park System, with over 20 million visitors per year. I can think of no more fitting memorial to Phil than to dedicate this much-enjoyed unique part of our national parks, which he fought for and created, to the memory of this giant of a legislative leader. This memorial will stand as a visible reminder to future generations of the debt which they, and we, owe to Phillip Burton.

The following are remarks made at Congressman Burton's funeral, which are very appropriate to the discussion today:

SPEAKER: FRANK KIELIGER, CONGRESSMAN BURTON'S STAFF

"When a good man dies, his goodness does not perish but lives on though they are gone." Phil Burton was a good man. We have mourned him and we will miss him but today, let us celebrate his life. Let us celebrate that goodness which lives on and which has and will continue to touch each of us.

I speak today for all who during his public life have worked with and for him as his staff. In Phil's mind we were part of his family. Each of us knows that we have been privileged in a special way in that our lives have been touched by both his greatness and his goodness.

I looked for words that would express what we felt and I found them in the word of the 19th century churchman, John Cardinal Newman:

"We, too, through God's mercy, whether we be young or old, whether we have many friends or few, shall along our pilgrimage of life find those in whom we may live, who will love us and whom we may love, who will aid us and help us forward and comfort us; for love is a secret gift, which, unseen by the world, binds together those in whom it lives and makes them live and sympathize in one another."

Phil Burton loved us. Phil Burton aided us. Phil helped all of us forward and when we needed him, he comforted us and most importantly he bound us together in his love.

History will remember him among the great * * * a unique and powerful political figure * * * let us remember him as a man who loved and in that love sought peace and justice for all people.

In this City of St. Francis let us honor his memory by being true instruments of peace. In this many faceted gem called San Francisco, which Burton loved and served, let each of us: man or woman, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, gay or straight, labor or business, rich or poor, young or old, native San Franciscan or our newest refugee * * * let each of us dedicate ourselves to the task of building Phil Burton's greatest monument in our own hearts * * * let us return his love * * * let us love one another.

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SISTER MARGARET CAFFERTY'S REMARKS AT CONGRESSMAN BURTON'S MEMORIAL SERVICE, APRIL 14, 1983

Yesterday, as I mourned my own loss and the loss of San Francisco in the death of Congressman Phillip Burton, I received a letter from one of our sisters stationed in Nicaragua. Sister lives in the path of an army, trained by the United States and invading from Honduras. She talked of the possibility of her own death, of her wish to die bravely. She asked simply, "if anything should happen to me, just promise me you'll raise a big stink for Nicaragua. My life is too precious for me to give it away lightly, and I don't."

Phil Burton didn't take sister's life lightly and spent his own unselfishly and courageously that her plea for justice and the pleas of millions of others would be heard. Phil's constituency was not limited by an accident of geography that might have placed people in the Fifth Congressional District. Rather, it skirted the enclaves of the powerful and gerrymandered into its boundaries the coal miners of Appalachia, the longshoremen of San Francisco, the tortured of Central America, the aged urban poor of the Nation. In many ways, Phil was the Lord's blessing on the City of St. Francis and San Francisco's gift to the Nation and the world.

Redwoods will soar, women and men will have jobs, the disabled will be enabled, some swords will be beaten into ploughshares because Phil Burton lived. Whatever other monuments are constructed, these living monuments, crafted in the splendor of nature, the marrow of life, the blessings of peace are the real monuments to Phil Burton.

Congressman Burton was a little larger than life. He had an insatiable hunger and thirst for justice. He spent his life bringing good news to the poor, healing the broken, announcing that the downtrodden should be free from their oppressors. My simple Irish faith tells me that as the Lord greeted him, he might well have said, "Welcome, Phil. I owe you a few."

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. Lagomarsino).

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, I think that there are two things, as has already been pointed out, that Phil Burton will be long remembered for, the items that are spelled out in this resolution itself, the natural areas in the country, the National Parks, the rivers, the wilderness areas, and particularly the Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Seiberling) mentioned another, and that is his contribution to the progress of the offshore areas, the territories and islands that are under our jurisdiction and care. There was no one in this Congress and perhaps never will be again who took as much interest in these areas and has as much to do with their development. Some of us were privileged to work with him in that regard.

I think probably the best thing we can do in memory of Phil Burton, at least with regard to this area, is to continue to work together.

There was one area, maybe it was the only area, but one area where Phil Burton truly did carry a bipartisan cooperation program was in this.

I cannot remember very many of the programs or projects involving the offshore areas that were not pretty much done by consensus, in most cases virtually unanimously.

So I would hope that we can continue to do that and when we are dealing with those issues to keep in mind how Phil handled them, I think that would be one of the best things that we could do in his memory.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from the Virgin Islands (Mr. de Lugo).

Mr. de LUGO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the full committee for yielding me this time.

I rise in support of this resolution. I want to thank the other Members for all that they have said about Phil today and particularly what has been said by the gentleman from Ohio and the gentleman from California regarding Phil's love and his deep concern for the offshore areas, whether they were in the Pacific or in the Caribbean, whether they were trust territories or whether they were U.S. territories, and the responsibility of this body and this Government.

I think that the naming of this memorial to Phil is wonderful because I do not think we will ever see his like again. I do not expect to.

It has been said many times that Phil Burton, in the 4 years that he was chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks, did more for the National Parks System than any other Member. He doubled the size of the National Parks System in that short period of time and it has been said many times that Phil never went to the National Parks. The only time he went outside was to take a cigarette; but all of us who knew Phil knew that he cared very deeply about the parks. He really did, and he believed that these parks, these areas were important to our country and to our people and he loved in particular the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. He was always talking about it.

It was quite a thing for me when I flew out to Phil's funeral the other day to visit this area, because I had been there when I was in the Army. I used to ship out from Fort Mason some time ago.

Phil was the friend, the sincere friend, of the underrepresented and the unrepresented. We are going to need a lot of help from a lot of us in carrying on that representation in the years ahead, and I am counting in particular on four of the gentlemen who preceded me on this floor today: the gentleman from California, the gentleman from New Mexico on the minority side, the gentleman from Ohio, and the gentleman from Arizona, the distinguished chairman of our committee.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the dean of the California delegation, the gentleman from California (Mr. Edwards).

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 2600, a bill to dedicate the Golden Gate Recreational Area to the memory of the late Phillip Burton.

Phillip Burton was not a hiker or a rafter. He was a city man who seldom ventured out into the wilderness. But still, he understood the need for natural open space which would provide beauty and solitude for those who sought refuge from our crowded, hectic, urban life. He cared about the future and the need to protect the environment.

His special caring and understanding inspired him to introduce legislation establishing the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, located in San Francisco, Marin, and San Mateo Counties in California. Thanks to his determination, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area has become the most popular national park, visited last year by 22 million people. It runs from the tip of Point Reyes to the southern border of San Francisco and includes 75 miles of coastline.

This was just one of Phillip Burton's many environmental triumphs. His skill and diligence in helping to enact legislation that greatly expanded the National Park System, established new national trails, designated new wild and scenic rivers, and established additional national park and forest service wilderness areas, will always be appreciated.

So, please, join with us today in showing our unanimous gratitude by dedicating the Golden Gate Recreational Area as a living testimony to Phillip Burton, a man who enhanced the quality of our lives.

We are indebted to the gentlewoman from California, Mrs. Boxer, and the gentleman from California, Mr. Miller, for their leadership in sponsoring this worthy legislation.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the author of the bill, the gentleman from California (Mr. Miller).

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleagues from the Interior Committee for the swift action they have taken on this memorial to Congressman Phillip Burton, and to Congressman Seiberling and Congressman Udall in particular for allowing this to happen.

I think for those of you who have been to the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, this is in fact a beautiful memorial to Phil Burton, to his ideals and to his principles.

It is not only a park which people can use on a day outing in the center of San Francisco, but it is a park that expresses the best of all aspirations about urban parks, because it is a park that is accessible by urban transportation from the city and the district which Phil Burton represented.

As has been stated by Congressman Edwards, it has the highest utilization of any facility in the United States and that is because of its proximity to the urban population.

It was Phil Burton who gave to this Congress the idea of urban parks and what we have in the Golden Gate National Recreation Area is the best of those ideas, incorporating both the wilderness experience, the seashore experience, the overnight experience, the ability of low-income individuals, of the elderly, to move to that park, to see it, to enjoy it, with all of the rest of our population.

I would hope that the Congress would understand that this is the kind of tribute that Phil Burton would have expected out of all of us, to take the grandest symbol of the urban parks, to take the grandest symbol of the recreation areas, and name it after him. He would have expected no less and I also expect that someday he will expect us to expand the boundaries of this park to take in even greater jurisdictions and I hope someday we can and that the Sweeney Ridge Area and others will be included in this park that he fought so hard for.

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of H.R. 2600, I fully support the legislative effort to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to the memory of my deceased, but cherished colleague, Phil Burton.

Renaming this recreation area in honor of Phil Burton is a small but most deserved tribute to the memory of a true giant on the legislative landscape of our times. In a very real sense, Phil Burton was "Mr. National Parks" in the Congress. Millions of Americans can enjoy the majestic natural wonders of this country because of his untiring efforts on behalf of preserving them against the ravages of the dedicated despoilers, in and out of Government.

Phil Burton was a national treasure—and may the memory of his accomplishments be our challenge to preserve the Nation's environment in the years ahead.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, nothing could be more appropriate, nor more deserved, than to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phil Burton.

When we travel around America, we see, in State after State, memorials to those who cared deeply about the preservation of our natural resources and had the foresight to look past immediate uses and pressures and set aside special lands for future generations. Henry David Thoreau. John Muir. Gifford Pinchot. Theodore Roosevelt. And to that list, we should add the name of Phil Burton.

Phil Burton shared their understanding of the need to save our natural treasures. His devotion to the National Parks and Recreation Act was a classic example of legislative determination and genius. With time running out in the 95th Congress and with it a possibility that the Senate would not pass the House-approved parks bill, Phil set up camp on the Senate floor and tried to move mountains. He succeeded. In a tour de force for which future generations will long be grateful, Phil's bill expanded the size of dozens of existing parks, and established many new wilderness areas, parks, seashore, trails, and wild and scenic rivers.

He never stopped his efforts on behalf of our natural heritage; just 2 weeks ago, we passed his California wilderness bill. Millions of Americans will find happiness in the over 2 million acres of land that will be added to our wilderness system.

It is entirely appropriate and fitting that we dedicate to Phil Burton's memory a park that he really cared most about. The Golden Gate National Recreation Area is in the city of San Francisco, where urban dwellers have easy access. It is a place where families can picnic for a day, and where children can play without looking for cars.

I am pleased to join in support of this effort to dedicate Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phil Burton.

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with both sadness and great purpose to urge my colleagues to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in northern California to the memory of Phillip Burton. At a time when our national priorities seem to be shifting away from environmental values, it is important that the Congress reaffirm its commitment to Phil's vision and acknowledge his great contribution by approving the measure before us today.

Phil Burton committed his career to issues which enhanced the quality of life of the underrepresented in our society. In the environmental arena, Phil recognized the importance of preserving the dwindling wild nooks and crannies, while affording all people with access to places of retreat and solitude. Because of his leadership, the Congress has created 30 new national parks, expanded substantially 66 others, designated 8 wild and scenic rivers, and established many new acres of national forests and trails. I believe that Phil's foresight has provided the American people with a precious gift, one whose value will become better known over time.

It is our obligation—for this and future Congresses—to build upon Phil's enormous achievements and strive for the continued protection of our environment. We owe this effort to ourselves, our Nation, and particularly to Phil's insistent and at times overbearing concern that the public's right to enjoy its natural heritage be observed. We should begin this process today by dedicating the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phil and by remembering his compassion, constancy, and unwavering commitment.

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. Udall) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2600, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "A bill to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Congressman Phillip Burton."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, *April 21, 1983.*

GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

By Mr. CRANSTON (for himself and Mr. Wilson):

S. 1134. A bill to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phillip Burton; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

DEDICATION OF GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA TO PHILLIP BURTON

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator Wilson and myself I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California to Phillip Burton. This bill is identical to H.R. 2600 introduced in the House by Congressman George Miller and nearly 100 cosponsors.

As my colleagues know, Phil Burton was an ardent conservationist. As a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, he fought to preserve many outstanding natural and cultural areas of our Nation for the benefit of all the people of the United States for all time. His efforts brought about the expansion of the Redwood National Park saving the Tall Tree Grove of giant redwoods, protection of the Tahoe basin from further deterioration, and establishment of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park. Phil was a key figure in the passage of the Alaska Lands Act, protecting over 100 million acres of land. He helped triple the size of the National Trails System, nearly double the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and more than double the wilderness acreage in the National Park System. At the time of his death, he was working to double national forest wilderness in the State of California. And for San Francisco, Phil Burton authored legislation creating the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, a magnificent urban park stretching from the Golden Gate to the Marin Headlands and up the coast to Point Reyes. It is most fitting that the Golden Gate National Recreation Area be dedicated to Phil Burton in recognition of his leadership and the numerous contributions he made for all of us in protecting the environment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SENATE BILL 1134

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, California, is hereby dedicated to Congressman Phillip Burton in recognition of his leadership in establishing the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, his outstanding contributions to the National Park System, the Wilderness Preservation System, and to the protection and preservation of our great natural and cultural resources for the benefit of the people of the United States for all time.

SEC. 2. In order to carry out the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to provide such identification by signs, including, but not limited to, changes in existing signs, materials, maps, markets, interpretive programs or other means as will adequately inform the public of the contributions of Phillip Burton.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior is further authorized and directed to cause to be erected and maintained, within the boundaries of the Fort Mason unit of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, an appropriate memorial to Phillip Burton. Such memorial shall include but not be limited to an appropriate permanent marker describing the contributions of Phillip Burton to the Nation.

SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

THURSDAY, *April 28, 1983.*

H.R. 2600, DEDICATION OF GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA TO REPRESENTATIVE PHILLIP BURTON

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to the consideration of H.R. 2600, a bill to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Congressman Phillip Burton.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The clerk will state the bill.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2600) to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Representative Phillip Burton.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, this will dedicate to his memory an area of California that was very dear to my former neighbor, Representative Burton. He lived next door to me and my late wife for a period of over 4 years and I know how much he worked to achieve the establishment of that area. I urge the Senate to approve this bill.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I am pleased to support the legislation that the House has passed to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in San Francisco to Phil Burton. I was and remain deeply saddened by his sudden death earlier this month, and I consider this to be a very fitting tribute to him.

As some of my colleagues will recall, I had the privilege to serve as the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Parks, Recreation, and Renewable Resources from 1979 to 1980 during Phil's last term as chairman of the comparable subcommittee in the House. Of all the projects that Phil worked on during that time—and there were many—one could tell that he had a special feeling about the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. He knew every inch of it. He was familiar with every detail about every acquisition, development, and use associated with it. He loved that park and was proud to have had a part of preserving it for future generations of Americans to enjoy.

Mr. President, I cannot help but observe that this measure was introduced in the House on April 19. It was reported favorably from the full House Interior Committee on the 20th and was passed by the House on the 26th. It will probably be approved by the Senate today without hearings and without having been referred to committee. All of us who knew Phil Burton know that he would have loved that. That is the way he thought legislation ought to pass.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, as the Senate considers H.R. 2600, a bill to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California to Phillip Burton, I want to say a few words about my late friend and colleague.

As many Members of this body are aware, Phil Burton was an ardent conservationist. He also fought for peace and social justice and improved conditions for the American working people. Phil had tremendous energy and unsurpassed political skills—which he put to use in the House of Representatives where he served from 1964 on.

As a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Phil established an impressive record in protecting for all time and all people many of the outstanding natural and cultural areas of the Nation. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, establishment and expansion of the Redwood National Park, protection of the Tahoe basin, creation of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park. Phil was a key figure in the passage of the Alaska Lands Act, protecting over 100 million acres of land. He helped triple the size of the National Trails System, nearly double the size of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and more than double the wilderness acreage in the National Park System. At the time of his death, he was working to double national forest wilderness in the State of California.

Given Phil Burton's leadership and numerous contributions in saving open space and wild lands, it is most fitting that the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, a magnificent urban park stretching from his congressional district of San Francisco across the Golden Gate to the Marin Headlands and up the coast to Point Reyes, be dedicated to him. I hope that my colleagues in the Senate will join me in passing H.R. 2600 to dedicate GGNRA to Phillip Burton.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I want to take just a minute to add my support for this measure to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phil Burton.

Phil's contributions to park and wildland preservation are well known to most of my colleagues in the Senate and to countless thousands of Americans all across the country. It especially is fitting, however, that this park—one Phil had a deep and longstanding personal commitment to—will be dedicated to his memory.

Golden Gate is truly a "park for the people." It is the most heavily visited unit of the Park System—a fact that makes it even more appropriate as a memorial to Phil Burton's dedication to the National Park System. It is fitting that his memory will be kept alive for the millions of people who visit and use this park each year.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, at this time I would like to add my support to this bill to dedicate the Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Phillip Burton.

Phil was one of the most effective and hard-working members of the House. He devoted his public life to helping the disadvantaged, minorities, and those in our society least able to fend for themselves. One facet of this concern was evidenced by his efforts on behalf of the people of our territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean.

Phil was a tireless and vocal supporter of our Nation's park system. His contributions in this regard will prove of inestimable value to future generations. His efforts to make park and recreation opportunities available to all Americans and his dedication to the preservation of wild places are well known to all of us who have had the privilege of working and serving with him over the years.

Make no mistake about it. Phil Burton always drove a hard legislative bargain. He skillfully pursued his legislative agenda in the Congress with a zeal and gusto that few have ever matched. And yet, Congressman Phillip Burton was an honorable and forthright legislator who was driven not by thoughts of personal gain and satisfaction but by a consuming desire to honestly and effectively represent the people of his district and the Nation.

Those of us who worked on an issue with Phil could not help but be impressed with the force and conviction with which he expressed his views. This was certainly the case with regard to the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and his love and commitment to its preservation for all Americans to enjoy. The bill we are considering here today is a most fitting tribute to his memory.

The bill (H.R. 2600) was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. STEVENS. I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse, San Francisco, Calif.

Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *May 23, 1983.*

H.R. 2895, PHILLIP BURTON FEDERAL BUILDING AND U.S. COURTHOUSE

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 2895) to designate the Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse at 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif., as the Phillip Burton Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse.

The Clerk read as follows:

HOUSE BILL 2895

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Federal Building and United States Courthouse at 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, shall hereafter be known and designated as the "Phillip Burton Federal Building and United States Courthouse". Any reference in any law, map, regulation, document, record, or any other paper of the United States to such building shall be deemed to be a reference to the "Phillip Burton Federal Building and United States Courthouse".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, a second is not required on this motion.

The gentleman from California (Mr. Mineta) will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Shaw) will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. Mineta).

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today we are considering H.R. 2895, a bill which designates that the Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse at 450 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco, Calif., be named in honor of our late good friend and distinguished colleague, Phillip Burton.

Congressman Burton's office in San Francisco was located in this building where he had a sweeping vista not only of the city he served for 28 years but also of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, one of his proudest achievements, which is visited by more people than any other unit of the National Park System.

Mr. Speaker, Phillip Burton was elected to the California State Assembly in 1956 and served until his election to the U.S. House of Representatives in a special election in 1964. He served on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with distinction for 19 years, and was chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs during the 95th and 96th Congresses. He also served on the Committee on Education and Labor, and was chairman of the Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations when he died on April 10, 1983.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation honors an outstanding American who served with distinction and dedication in this body into his 10th term. Phillip Burton was a man who always had the national viewpoint and his long record of service both in the California Legislature and here in this body indicated quite clearly the contribution he made not only to the development of the legislative process but to the benefits his actions provided for all of our citizens in the fields of recreation, social welfare, and the economy.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. Mineta), who served with Phillip Burton as part of the California delegation, and I rise in support of H.R. 2895 which will designate the Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse at 450 Golden Gate Avenue, in San Francisco, Calif., as the "Phillip Burton Federal Building and United States Courthouse."

By the naming of this facility in honor or our late colleague, we pay tribute to his distinguished and many achievements.

Phillip Burton was recognized as both a leader and a statesman.

His long record of service and lasting contributions to the citizens of the State of California and the Nation in the fields of recreation, social welfare, and the economy will be remembered by many.

Phillip Burton toiled tirelessly for those in need and he was among the original authors pioneering the concept of urban parks which would provide accessible, scenic recreation areas to urban Americans.

The Golden Gate National Recreation Area evolved and developed from this concept and is one of his proudest achievements.

I urge the House to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 2895.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2895, a bill to designate the Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse at 450 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco, Calif., in honor of our late, beloved colleague, the Honorable Phillip Burton.

Phillip Burton served in the U.S. House of Representatives with distinction from 1964 until his untimely death on April 10, 1983. During his tenure in the Congress, he skillfully pursued his legislative agenda with vigor and sought to help the disadvantaged and minorities in our society who are least able to provide for themselves. He worked hard and successfully to use the vast resources and power of the Federal Government to serve those most in need, to correct injustice in the world, and to preserve for future generations the wild and scenic areas of this country.

Mr. Speaker, in view of Phillip Burton's leadership and numerous contributions to the city of San Francisco, the State of California, and this Nation, it is most fitting that the Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse in San Francisco, Calif., be named in his honor.

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Mineta) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2895.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Proceedings in the Senate

Thursday, *August 4, 1983.*

H.R. 2895, PHILLIP BURTON FEDERAL BUILDING AND U.S. COURTHOUSE

The bill (H.R. 2895) to designate the Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse at 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif., as the Phillip Burton Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse, was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill passed.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Communications

RESOLUTION FROM THE TERRITORY OF GUAM

POM–155. A resolution adopted by the Legislature of the Territory of Guam; ordered to lie on the table:

"RESOLUTION NO. 123

"Whereas, Congressman Phillip Burton, Democratic Representative of San Francisco was born on June 1, 1926 and passed away on April 10, 1983; and

"Whereas, the Honorable Phillip Burton was a person who rightly deserves to be honored by the people of Guam; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton has faithfully served the people of the United States of America since February 1964, as a Member of the House of Representatives; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton was chosen by his colleagues in the House of Representatives to chair the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs in 1971; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton won approval of a new national park at Honokohau, Hawaii; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton saw to it that his territories chairmanship was passed on to Delegate A. B. Won Pat on Guam—the first nonvoting territorial delegate ever to chair a House subcommittee; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton has supported major Federal legislation towards the political and economic development of Guam, including: an act providing for an elected Governorship; an act providing for a nonvoting delegate to Congress; an act appropriating funds for the repayment of Guam's rehabilitation debt; an act authorizing Guam to write its own constitution; an act creating the War in the Pacific Park; was instrumental in continuing the operation of the ship repair facility in Guam; and an act authorizing a review of lands claims in Guam; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton has supported legislation to the benefit of the Northern Marianas, including the reunification of the Marianas, increase in the annual appropriations for the territories and various omnibus bills benefiting the territories; and

"Whereas, Congressman Burton also talked Guam officials into keeping the medical center of the Marianas open after helping obtain a Federal grant; and

"Whereas, the U.S. Territories of the Pacific, located several thousand miles from the seat of Government in Washington, D.C., have needed a loyal spokesman in Congress to support their cause; someone who took an active interest in the promotion of their social, economic, and political development; and

"Whereas, through a period of nearly two (2) decades, Congressman Phillip Burton has served as a spokesman for the people of Guam in Washington, D.C., and has been recognized as a champion of Human Rights; and

"Whereas, the University of Guam gave Congressman Burton an honorary doctor-of-law degree in the May 12, 1978, commencement exercises; and

"Whereas, no matter how significant these heretofore listed accomplishments may be, they are overshadowed by his devotion to his family and his country; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Seventeenth Guam Legislature does extend its condolences and heartfelt sympathy to his wife Sala, daughter Joy, and the Burton family upon the passing of this honorable man whose accomplishments have been an inspiration to all of us on this island; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Speaker certify to and the Legislative Secretary attest the adoption hereof and that copies of the same be thereafter transmitted to Mrs. Phillip Burton; to the President of the United States; to the President of the U.S. Senate; to the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives; to Congressman Antonio B. Won Pat; to the Governor of California; to the mayor of San Francisco; to the Senators and Representatives from California; and to the Governor of Guam."

JOINT RESOLUTION FROM THE REPUBLIC OF PALAU

POM–180. A joint resolution adopted by the National Congress of the Republic of Palau; ordered to lie on the table:

"A House Joint Resolution

"Whereas, Phillip Burton, one of Palau's closest friends in the U.S. Congress, died on Sunday, April 10, 1983; and

"Whereas, Phillip Burton, a man of action, a man of compassion and a man of vision, was a fighter for all of the Pacific Islands; and

"Whereas, as chairman of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs during the 1970's, Phillip Burton, more than any other Member of Congress, helped Palau on issues and needs that no one else in the United States was concerned about; and

"Whereas, due to his knowledge, dedication, and effectiveness in American politics, Phillip Burton became the Pacific's leading advocate in the United States; and

"Whereas, born on June 1, 1926, Phillip Burton became a San Francisco lawyer, and entered politics in 1956 when he was elected to the California Legislature where he remained for 8 years; and

"Whereas, upon his election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1964, Phillip Burton championed many social causes and served on the Education and Labor Committee as well as the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; and

"Whereas, the late Phillip Burton bravely served his country in the U.S. Navy during World War II, and the Korean conflict; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the House of Delegates of the First Olbill Era Kelulau, Tenth Regular Session, April 1983, the Senate concurring, that the Olbill Era Kelulau expresses and through this joint resolution extends its most sincere condolences and sympathies to the family and friends of the late Phillip Burton; and be it further

"Resolved, That certified copies of this joint resolution be transmitted to Sala Burton, wife of the late Congressman, and Joy Burton, daughter of the late Congressman, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Strom Thurmond, President pro tem of the U.S. Senate, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States."

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Memorial services held in the House Main
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